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DOMESTIC MEMOIRS

OF

THE ROYAL FAMILY

AND OF

THE COURT OF ENGLAND;

CHIEFLY AT SHENE AND RICHMOND.

BY FOLKESTONE WILLIAMS, F.G.S., F.R.G.S.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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DOMESTIC MEMOIRS

OF

THE ROYAL FAMILY.

CHAPTER I.

Abortive attempts to stifle Public opinion—Suspicious circumstances in the Death of Prince Henry—Dismission of the Establishment at Richmond.

A cotemporary speaks of the Prince "as eminent in nobleness as in blood, and having a spirit too full of life and splendour to be long shrouded in a cloud of flesh. If that which gave life to his life had been less," he adds, emphatically, "he might happily have lived longer; not that there was too much oil, or that concurrent natural balsamum in this fair and well-composed lamp to extinguish itself; but the light that came from it might cast so radiant a lustre, as, *by darkening others*, it came to lose the benefit of its own glory."[1] "Jealousy," adds the writer, "is like a fire that

[1] Wilson's "Life of James I.," fol. 63. London, 1653. "Secret History of the Kings and Queens of England," 1702, p. 352.

burns all before it, and that fire is hot enough to dissolve all bonds that tend to the diminution of a crown."

These expressions sufficiently indicate the opinion entertained at the time of the cause of the Prince's dissolution, which Sir Simonds D'Ewes confirms in his diary, when he asserts that the people "supposed Prince Henry's days, as the life of that brave Germanicus, to have been abortively shortened by a wicked hand."[2]

One of the Prince's chaplains, subsequently celebrated as Dr. Bailey, Bishop of Bangor, author of the "Practice of Piety," which he had dedicated to his Royal Highness, preached a sermon, a short time after his death, in which he introduced some remarks the Prince had made to him about a month before he died, respecting the prevailing laxity of religious principles in high places. For this the preacher was called before the archbishop of Canterbury, and, as the chronicler states, "silenced!"[3] Another cotemporary writer, commenting on this circumstance, adds: "There are some here got so honest and so good patriots, as they think a thing not fit that men should be punished for speaking of a truth."[4] However, the chaplain would not allow himself to be silenced. According to Mr. Chamberlain—

"Bayley, the Prince's chaplain, that made the suspicious

[2] Halliwell's "Autobiography," i., 49.

[3] John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, Nov. 19, 1612.

[4] Richard Earl of Dorset to Sir Thomas Edmondes, Nov. 23.

sermon at St. Martin's, was enjoined by the council to explain himself in the same place; which he did, the Sunday following, and that so soundly, that, in a very great audience, he made the matter *much more than plain*, relating the whole matter as it passed at the Council-table, with justifying, offering to make proof, or bring his authors for what he said. Divers other preachers," he adds, "have been busy in the same kind; and how it comes to pass, or upon what ground, I know not, but they take the alarm, and begin to speak *freely*, or, at least, so feelingly, that they make themselves understood, though they keep within compass; so that I perceive it is not good," pithily adds the writer, "to meddle with these pulpit hornets."

The attempt to stifle public opinion was a failure, and the excitement it produced made caution on the part of the King imperative. The national regret for the national calamity was too strongly expressed to be trifled with. There was scarcely an intelligent Englishman abroad or at home who refrained from a manly expression of his sorrow. Richard Earl of Dorset thus feelingly expresses himself to Sir Thomas Edmondes:—

"For to tell you that our rising sun is set ere scarcely he had shone, and that with him all our glory lies buried, you know and lament as well as we, and better than *some do*, and more truly, or else you were not a man, and sensible of this kingdom's loss." [5]

"The lamentation made for him," we are assured in the diary of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, "was so general as even women and children partook of it." [6]

[5] "Court and Times of James I.," 210.
[6] Halliwell—"Autobiography," i. 46.

Two thousand mourners followed in funeral procession from St. James's to Westminster Abbey.

When they had filed into the ancient minster, and had been re-arranged within its venerable walls, the Archbishop of Canterbury ascended the pulpit, and before his silent and sorrowing auditory preached a sermon from the sixth and seventh verses of the eighty-second psalm—"I have said, Ye are gods; and ye are children of the Most High. But ye shall die like as a man, and ye Princes shall fall like others." It was a moving exposition of the vanity of human greatness; but the most touching portion of it was the eulogy it contained—the Primate dwelling on the virtues of the deceased with truly Christian fervour, acknowledging that in the Prince's conduct, and in the management of his household, he might himself be guided. When he enlarged on the felicity his Royal Highness now had attained, and his advantages over those who survived him, the Prelate appears to have been overpowered by his emotion. In this last tribute of affectionate sorrow the illustrious preacher, as may readily be imagined, did not stand alone. A more genuine grief was exhibited than had ever been seen at similar spectacles.

The final act of the ceremony began at the conclusion of the sermon; then "the earls, lords, and barons, who by this time having offered up their several banners, and honours which they carried; and also the great officers of his Court, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Chamberlain; Sir Charles Cornwallis, Treasurer; Sir John Hollys, Comptroller; together with his three Gentlemen Ushers,

Walter Alexander, Anthony Abingdon, and John Lumley—having all by degrees (Sir Thomas Chaloner beginning) broken their white staves and rods crossways over the coffin (thereby resigning their places) the assembly dissolved.[7] On the next evening, about eight o'clock, the corpse was removed from under the hearse, being set by that of his grandmother in the vault, while an effigy, wearing his dress and ornaments, was placed in a chamber of the chapel among those of the predecessors of the deceased. The funeral expenses cost £16,016.[8]

The impression created by the Prince's untimely decease was most depressing on those active spirits who had looked forward to his succession to the throne as the commencement of a new era of glory for England. In one instance it was attended with fatal effects, as Sir Dudley Carleton avers when announcing the death of Lord Bothwell at Naples :—

"The occasion, it may be, will seem strange unto you, it being most certain that the Prince's death struck him with such a sudden melancholy that he took his chamber thereupon, and without speech with any man (though many came to him to offer him all possible comfort) he died within three or four days after. 'What may we imagine,' adds the ambassador, 'would have been performed by that Prince if it had pleased God he had lived, since his ashes have wrought such an effect upon a man of so strong a mind?'"[9]

[7] MS. "Prince Henrie—His Life, Death, and Funeralles," 112.
[8] Somers's "Tracts," ii. 372.
[9] Winwood's "Memorials," iii. 424.

Several sermons were preached in various parts of the country—some with a marked suggestiveness, others with a prophetic significance. At Oxford, Dr. Goodwin, Dean of Christ Church, preached from the fifty-seventh chapter of Isaiah, the first verse—"The righteous perisheth, and no man considereth it in his heart; and merciful men are taken away from *the evil to come*." At Cambridge Dr. Valentine Carey, the Vice-Chancellor and Master of Christ's College,[10] preached from the third chapter of the second book of Samuel, the thirty-fourth verse—"And all the people wept again for him." At the former University Dr. Richard Corbet,[11] one of the Proctors, delivered a funeral oration in Latin. One was composed by Accepteo Frewen, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen;[12] and a similar production proceeded from the other university, of which the author was Francis Nethersole, Fellow of Trinity, and public orator.[13] Another was written by Dr. Daniel Sharpe, which was much admired.[14] Indeed, the sister universities expressed their sorrow with marked prominence.

On the day of the funeral—

"There was a solemn obsequy for him at Oxford, with a sermon and a funeral oration after it at St. Mary's, and

[10] Afterwards Bishop of Exeter.

[11] Subsequently Dean of Christchurch, and Bishop of Oxford and of Norwich.

[12] He became Archbishop of York, and Almoner to Charles II.

[13] Soon afterwards knighted and appointed Secretary to the Queen of Bohemia.

[14] "Funeral Oration on the Prince of Wales."

the like in the afternoon at Christ Church—both which places were hanged and furnished with blacks; and they have set a book of Latin elegies and funeral verses. Our Cambridge men are nothing so forward nor officious—only I hear of some verses set out or given to some few, but not publicly sold.[15]

At Cambridge there had at one time been so strong a feeling in the Prince's favour, that, according to Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, he was nearly elected Chancellor; but the King exercised his influence in favour of his worthless favourite, Carr, who had also been proposed; and the latter, receiving in consequence the majority of votes, obtained that honourable office.[16] Elegiac poems were produced in vast numbers. At Oxford there were three collections. Cambridge put forth another; and almost every poet of eminence paid his tribute of devotion in a similar form. Among them were Dr. Donne, Christopher Brooke, William Brown, George Chapman, Joshua Sylvester, John Webster, Thomas Heywood, Cyril Tourneau, Drummond of Hawthornden, and Baudius of Leyden.[17] But one of the most touching of these compositions was written by his sister, Princess Elizabeth, and presented by her to her tutor, Lord Harrington."[18]

Expressions of regret for the loss of this virtuous and

[15] John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, Dec. 17, 1612.

[16] "Five Years of King James"—Harleian Miscellany, 292.

[17] See also Chapman's "Episode on Prince Henry," 1612, London; Withers' "Prince Henry's Obsequies," 1633, London; Davies' "Muse's Tears for the Loss of the Prince of Wales," 1603, London.

[18] They are quoted in her life by Mrs. Green—"Princesses of England," v., 193.

accomplished Prince were not confined to versification. It was impossible for any person of intelligence, in the slightest degree acquainted with the spirit of the age, not to be impressed with the conviction that there had passed away the only security the nation possessed against internal convulsions. Statesmen and warriors, philosophers and scholars, were equally apprehensive that in this total eclipse of the rising sun the land was destined to pass through a long day of darkness and trouble. Sir Walter Raleigh, who united in himself the qualities of these four orders of illustrious men, with many important additions, felt that the deprivation was irreparable. He was solacing his seclusion by composing a continuation of his "General History of the World," buoyed up with the hope of an early deliverance, and with the prospect of a brilliant future, when he was prostrated by this sudden blow. These volumes were to have been published under the auspices of his earnest friend, the deceased Prince;[19] and very touchingly has the author, in the hasty conclusion he now made of his labours, recorded his sense of the national calamity.

[19] "Prince Henry," states Carew Raleigh, in his "Brief Relation," "hearing the King had given Sherborne to Sir Robert Carr, came with some anger to his father, desiring he would be pleased to bestow Sherborne upon him, alleging that it was a place of great strength and beauty, which he much liked—but, indeed, with an intention to give it back to Sir Walter Raleigh, whom he much esteemed. The King, who was unwilling to refuse any of that Prince's desires, (for, indeed, they were most commonly delivered in such language as sounded rather like a demand than an entreaty,) granted his request; and, to satisfy his favourite, gave him five-and-twenty thousand pounds in ready money—so far was the King or Crown from gaining by this purchase."

The melancholy drama terminated at Richmond, on the last day of the year, when the officers and other personal attendants of the deceased Prince were dismissed from their employments.[20] When they assembled for this purpose, it was impossible for them not to have recalled the happiness they had enjoyed in that pleasant neighbourhood during their services. Wherever they gazed they must have met memorials of gratifications, for which their hearts ought ever to have remained under a sense of the deepest obligation. Dr. Hall, one of the most distinguished of the Prince's chaplains, on that day preached to them a farewell sermon, in the course of which, after lavishing on their beloved master every epithet of praise, of glory, and affection, and after describing his establishment as "the most loving and entire fellowship that ever met in the Court of any Prince," he exhorted them to go in peace, and to live as should those who have lost such a master, and as those who serve a Master they cannot lose.

An historical writer has stated, that the Doctor so broadly hinted unfair treatment of the Prince, that he was dismissed from Court.[21] Though no such passage occurs in any of his published sermons, he might have ventured in the pulpit to express what he would not have dared to print.

[20] "The late Prince's household brake up the last of December, and his servants sent to seek their fortune. The inventory of his movables doth far exceed his debts, and the account of his yearly revenue riseth to 57,000*l.*"—*Winwood's Memorials*, iii., 422.

[21] "Works of Dr. Joseph Hall," i., 554. "Complete History of England," ii., 689.

Of his considerateness for others his Royal Highness constantly gave evidence. Even in pursuing his sports in and about Richmond, he set an example of respect for private property far from common among royal or noble sportsmen. If out with his hawks or his hounds, when the fields were waiting for the reaper, he would make a circuit, with all his train, to prevent any damage being done to the farmer's corn;[22] and he caused strict injunctions to be issued to his purveyors, to take nothing for his use without tendering a fair recompense. In the issuing of billets, too—an arbitrary prerogative—his Royal Highness was equally careful to guard against injustice. In truth, on all occasions he employed the power he possessed with a singular moderation and thoughtfulness; and though youthfully impulsive in his generosity, was restrained by a prudence that could only have been expected from men advanced in life, who had acquired unusual knowledge of the world.

The Prince was so reserved in his speech, that he often complained of possessing the most unserviceable tongue of any man living; but this appears merely to have affected his utterance when he found it necessary to express his ideas on important occasions, more in the form of oratory than of conversation. The language

[22] "Whensoever he went hawking," says Sir Charles Cornwallis, "before harvest ended, he would take care that none should pass through the corn; and to give them example, would himself ride rather a furlong about—truly and judiciously conceiving that to Princes there is no surer fortress than that of hearts, and that those once had and settled, the rest of what they possess is at their commandment."—*Harleian Miscellany*, 263.

of his Royal Highness, however, possessed this great merit—even when excited, it was never disfigured by the profane and vulgar ejaculations then considered fashionable because practised by the King.[23] The contrast between the two in this particular is well brought out by an anecdote that has been preserved by one of his associates. While deer-hunting in Richmond, a butcher's dog sprung at the stag when, near the end of the chase, it was crossing a road, and easily killed it, before the huntsmen could come up. As the butcher was then trying to make off with the prey, the Prince's attendants were exceedingly enraged, and endeavoured to excite their young master against him; but he at once screened the offender. "What if the butcher's dog killed the stag?" he exclaimed; "How could the butcher help it?" Some one reminded him that if his father had been so served, he would have sworn as no man could have endured. "Away!" cried the Prince, indignantly; "all the pleasure in the world is not worth an oath."[24]

It was in the same purely Christian spirit that the young Prince answered a question put to him apparently by one of his chaplains—Why he did not swear at play like the rest. "I know no game," he replied, "worthy of an oath."[25]

[23] Sir Charles Cornwallis—"Harleian Miscellany," 263.

[24] Roger Coke's "Detection," i., 70. How different was the practice of his father. "He would make a good deal too bold with God, in his passion, both in cursing and swearing—and one string higher, verging on blasphemy."—*Dalzell's Fragments of Scottish History*, 87.

[25] Cornwallis—"Discourse."

His attention to his religious duties was most exemplary, and nothing could exceed the respect with which he regarded the different ministers who performed Divine service before his Royal Highness and his establishment. He told one of them (Dr. Milbourne), that when they entered the pulpit and directed their attention towards him, he fancied that they were admonishing him with such sentences as—"Sir, you must hear me diligently: you must have a care to observe what I say." The natural consequence was, that he never took his eyes off the preacher, nor for a moment was inattentive to his discourse.

Various payments were made by the King a few months subsequently to his son's death, to his servants and tradespeople. Among them, March 31, 1613, Sir E. Cecil a balance of 320*l.* for armour; July 26, 4,000*l.* was given to George Heriot, for a chain and hat-band set with diamonds; the following day, Solomon de Caux received 50*l.* "for attendance" on the Prince; on the 21st of October, a grant of 200*l.* per annum was made in favour of John Sandilands, groom of his bed-chamber; Nov. 13, grant of a pension of 50*l.* per annum to John Ferris, as master cook; and on Nov. 18, to David Ramsay, groom of the bed-chamber, 200*l.* a-year; on July the 11th, 1614, a warrant was issued to pay William Pickering, master of the armoury at Greenwich, 200*l.*, balance of 340*l.* for armour gilt and engraved; on the 25th this was followed by one of 100*l.* a-year to Roger Palmer, his cupbearer; Dr. Hammond, his physician, obtained a lease of Hamme Farm, Chertsey.

There was scarcely a landowner, groom, or peasant in the neighbourhood of Richmond to whom the Prince had not recommended himself by amiable condescension and thoughtful kindness; yet he neither affected a familiar manner with his inferiors, nor would encourage it in any of them if attempted in his presence. He was easily accessible, and most courteous in his bearing, towards all, gentle and simple, who came within his observation. Numerous were the anecdotes of his benevolence and sweetness of disposition current in every homestead in the county; and for at least a century after his decease, a proverb was in circulation among the people of England, that at once showed their veneration of his name, and conviction of the impossibility of the highest human excellence escaping the fate of all mortality. What security could there be for the preservation of anything, however admirable —"*Did not good Prince Henry die?*"

CHAPTER II.

Gallery of Paintings formed at Richmond by Prince Henry—His Patronage of Isaac Oliver, Peake, Vanderdort, Vinckenboom —The Prince's Portraits and Engravings—His Buildings—His Revenue—Hunting Establishment—Tributes to his Memory.

A TASTE for the Fine Arts was shown by Prince Henry at quite an early age, and he began to collect pictures and interest himself in the works of artists with a zeal that increased every year. The correspondents of his Royal Highness abroad assisted him in forming a collection, and some strove to engage foreign painters of eminence to enter his service. John Chamberlain writes to Sir Dudley Carleton, Nov. 13, 1611, stating that Sir Henry Wotton, who had just returned from his embassy to Venice, had preferred Bilford to the Prince, "with asseveration and wagers of three of his choice pictures against three of the Prince's horses, that he shall draw or portray the Prince better than

Isaac, the French painter, in the Black Friars; but the opinion is, that he must have many grains of allowance to hold weight with Isaac. The Prince in favour grows very like his mother.[26]

The ambassador appears by this to have brought with him to England several paintings that were considered of high excellence, most probably of the Italian school. The Isaac mentioned by the letter-writer was no doubt Isaac Oliver, and it is confidently stated that he was a French painter, though most writers on art consider him an Englishman. The name "Olivier" is on his drawings, and his note-book was written both in French and English. As he was born in 1555, and had been much employed in the reign of Elizabeth, there was time for his name to have become anglicised. The great reputation of Isaac at this period is thus vouched for by Mr. Chamberlain. He also was liberally patronized by the Prince, whose miniature he painted at least twice. Another exquisite miniature of him was painted by Nicholas Hilliard—Isaac's instructor—a full-length, with a gauntlet in one hand. The elder Oliver died in 1617, pre-deceasing his equally celebrated master by two years. Daniel Mireveldt also painted a portrait of the Prince, with a landscape seen through a

[26] "Court and Times of James I.," i., 145. The name of "Mark Bilford, Limner of Pictures," is found in the list of the Prince's establishment—*Ordinances and Regulations*, 334; but there is no mention of him by Virtue, or by any of his editors and annotators; nevertheless, it is quite clear that Sir Henry Wotton would not have recommended him to the Prince so earnestly had he not been an artist of eminence.

window, now at Combe Abbey, Warwickshire.[27] This is the artist who figures so frequently in the letters of Sir Edward Conway to Prince Henry's tutor, Adam Newton. The ambassador made several attempts to induce him to go to England;[28] he appears to have been always promising to set out—even entering into stipulations for his return, after a certain period, to Delft, where his reputation brought him ample gains; but Sir Edward never states that he succeeded in his mission. It seems, however, from this work, and other portraits of English noblemen known to have been executed by him, that he made a short residence in this country. Sir Edward also obtained for the Prince a picture representing the Evangelists. One of the painters patronised by the Prince was Paul Vansomer, of Antwerp, who came to England about the year 1606. He was a distinguished portrait-painter, and was much employed at Court; all the Royal family sat to him, the King and Queen more than once. He introduced the portrait of Prince Henry in a family group with his Royal parents—also with the young Earl of Essex. His Royal Highness having dismounted from his horse, which is behind him, is seen in a hunting-suit of Lincoln green, drawing his sword to cut off the stag's head; the King's arms and his own are in escutcheons on the boughs of a tree, and the future opponent of his brother in the Parliamentary war is represented kneeling before, him, as if assisting in the disposal of

[27] Dallaway's "Walpole," i., 234.
[28] Dr. Birch—"Life," Appendix.

the deer. The painter repeated the subject, with the variations of the Prince cutting the stag's throat. The first picture is in the Royal Collection, the other at Wroxton Abbey, Oxfordshire.[29]

Vansomer is said to have assisted Daniel Mytens, the elder, in painting the portrait of the Prince, now at Hampton Court, but the latter was not in England till after the Prince's death. A list of Vansomer's works has been published by Mr. Dallaway.[30] He died January 5th, 1621, and was buried in the church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. Probably the portrait attributed to Mytens may have been suggested by one that had been painted by Vansomer, and is the same as that which is elsewhere attributed to Rubens. Robert Peake was another painter in the establishment of the Prince.[31] Virtue, Walpole, Dallaway, and Wornum, have collected some interesting particulars respecting him; and he is mentioned by a cotemporary, who was also in the Prince's service, as "my good friend, Master Peake."[32] He illuminated a copy of the "Basilicon Doron," for his youthful master, apparently the one versified by Peacham; and also was in the employment of the Duke of York, shortly before Prince Henry's death.[33] He was the master of Faithorn, and,

[29] Dallaway—"Walpole," i., 210.

[30] Ibid.

[31] "Ordinances and Regulations," 334.

[32] Henry Peacham, M.A.—"The Gentleman's Exercise," &c., 1634, p. 7.

[33] Dallaway's Walpole's "Painting in England." Edited by Wornum, i., 221.

besides teaching drawing and painting, dealt in pictures. He appears to have been much esteemed by both the sons of James.[34]

Abraham Vanderdort, whose name figures prominently in the artistic history of the next reign, was first employed by Prince Henry. The Dutchman had arrived in England with a female bust, which he had modelled for the Emperor Rodolph. The Prince was eager to add works of merit to his collection, and, on the model being left with him, was so struck with its beauty, that he would not part with it. The Emperor is said to have written frequently for the fulfilment of his commission; but the artist had found a patron quite as sensible of his merit, who promised to reward him liberally if he would remain in his service. The result was, that Vanderdort gave up the Emperor of Germany for the Prince of Wales, who promised that his work should be properly displayed in the gallery at Richmond, then building by Inigo Jones; and in July, 1612, gave him 50*l.* as his first year's salary, as keeper of his medals and other works of art.[35] Vanderdort made a drawing of Prince Henry, which he mentions in his catalogue.

[34] Charles I. knighted him at Oxford, March 28th, 1645. At this period he put down the palette and brush, to take up the sword, and in his Royal patron's service rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. His military career, however, concluded at Basingstoke, where he held a command when it was besieged by Cromwell, who took him prisoner.

[35] Birch—"Life of Prince Henry," Appendix, 467; Dallaway's and Wornum—Walpole's "Painting in England," 266.

Prince Henry appears to have collected everything worth possessing. He purchased eighteen bronze statuettes, by Fanelli, and 1200 medals, coins, cameos, and intaglios, from the executors of Abraham Gorbee, author of the "Dactylothecos." As a patron of art, he preceded Thomas Earl of Arundel (Earl Marshal), whose noble collections a little later attracted the attention of all persons of taste in England; for, according to Mr. Dallaway, the Earl "*began* to collect statues and pictures about 1615,"[36] which is two years later than the Prince was, unfortunately for the nation, forced to conclude his purchases of similar objects. We believe that his Royal Highness followed only the impulses of his own natural taste, than was fed rather than excited by the works of art in the Royal palaces, collected by Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, and by those which noblemen and gentlemen had gathered during their residence in the capitals of Europe, where they were easily procurable at prices that would now be considered very much below their value. He owed nothing to the example of King James, whose tastes were anything but æsthetic. It is equally certain that Prince Henry's example created the artistic taste and judgment for which his younger brother (Charles I.) was subsequently so worthily esteemed.

The following elaborate portrait is from a trustworthy source:—

"He was of a comely, tall middle stature, about five feet

[36] Walpole, i., 296.

and eight inches high, of a strong, straight, well-made body, as if nature in him had shown all her cunning: with somewhat broad shoulders, and a small waist. Of an amiable, majestic, grave countenance; his hair of an Abram colour [meaning probably of the same tint as the patriarch's hair was commonly painted], long-faced, a broad forehead, a piercing grey eye, a most gracious smile, with a terrible frown—courteous, loving, and affable—his favour, like the sun, indifferently seeming to shine upon all; naturally shamefaced and modest—most patient, which he showed both in his life and death—slow to anger, that even when many times he was most offended he would, overcoming himself, say nothing; merciful he was after he had a little punished the offender—neither did he judge rashly, but after due examination of both parties; dissimulation he esteemed most base, chiefly in a Prince, not willing nor by nature being able to flatter, favour, or use those kindly who deserved not his love. Quick he was to conceive anything—not rash, but mature in deliberation, yet most constant, having resolved. True of his promises, most sacred, even from his youth, so that he might have been trusted in anything which did not fear a discovery—being of a close disposition, not easy to be known or pried into. Of a fearless, noble, heroic, undaunted courage, thinking nothing impossible that ever was done by any; a few fair words prevailing more with him than all the threats in the world; very pitifull and tender-hearted unto any in misery, whom upon petition he ever some way relieved."[87]

Of engraved portraits of Prince Henry there is a whole-length one by Reynold Elstrack—another by the

[87] MS. "Life, Death, and Funeralles."

same engraver in a group with the King, the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Treasurer, 1609; this print has been sold for 43*l.* 1*s.* He is included in the "Heroologia Anglica," 1620—a whole-length, from a portrait attributed to Rubens, at Whitehall. Francesco Delarame engraved another representing his Royal Highness in the robes of the Garter, holding a truncheon. Crispin de Pass engraved an oval and a medallion, with a genealogical tree. The Prince is included by William Pass in his representation of the family of James I., leaning on a skull, as an intimation of his death. This print has sold for 30*l.* 9*s.* There are two prints by Pass, with the portraits of James and Henry only. Simon Pass engraved a whole length of the Prince with a lance. Michael Holle the whole length frontispiece to Drayton's "Polyolbion," as well as another whole-length, and representation of his hearse and effigy. Deodate, who is said by Walpole to have been physician to the Prince, engraved him in a series of medallions of "The Progeny of James I.," published in London in 1619, and lately sold for 23*l.* 2*s.* There is also an anonymous print, in which he is engraved with the King, both on horseback, lately sold for 89*l.* 5*s.*, and another in which he is included in the progeny of James, a group of twenty-three whole-length figures—that has realized 42*l.*

There are preserved in Cambridge two large pictures, one representing Prince Henry's palace at Richmond, with a stag hunt—the other, the same building from the opposite bank of the river, with a troop of

morris-dancers, and a fool collecting money from the lookers-on. In the first the landscape is better executed than the figures and animals; but both pictures are interesting, as representations of the old palace, including the improvements of Prince Henry, and a wooden gallery to the ferry. The artist was Daniel Vinckenboom, a landscape-painter of some eminence in his time, who was born at Mechlin, in 1578, and died at Amsterdam about 1629.[38]

Neither Virtue nor Walpole appear to have been aware of his visit to this country; but they have overlooked several artists of reputation, both foreign and English, who flourished in England at this period. These paintings most probably were executed for Prince Henry a little before his death: they represent pastimes of which his Royal Highness was known to be fond. At the distribution of the treasures of the palace, they were bought by the father of Lady Fitzwilliam. Both were formerly in Richmond Palace; they subsequently found their way to Lord Fitzwilliam's house, on the green, and thence passed with his Lordship's collection to the University.

Some doubt has been thrown on these representations of Richmond Palace; and the one showing the gate entrance from the park, now the Green, has been pronounced a view of the King's palace of Theobalds,[39] which he obtained from his minister Cecil; but the

[38] Bryan's "Dictionary of Painters and Engravers," edited by Stanley, 875. Dallaway's Walpole, 341, note.

[39] "Gentleman's Magazine," 1836, where it is engraved. .

Society of Antiquaries published them as views of Richmond, not without satisfactory authority; and a partial resemblance the first may have had to Theobalds, which was built in the year 1580, would not invalidate its claim to be Richmond, erected nearly a century before. It is not impossible that Vinckenboom painted both pictures from drawings of the palace, executed soon after its erection by Henry VII., sent him for that purpose, and that he did not go to England.

Engraved views of the palace exist by Hollar, by Michael Vander Gucht, for Aubrey's Surrey; by Richard Barnard Godfrey, 1774; and by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, 1727. The east view shows the frontage to the Green.

Towards the close of his brief career, the Prince expended, in little more than a year, in improvements —at Woodstock House and Lodge, 229*l.* 17*s.* 11*d.*; on Richmond House and Shene, 2,422*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.*; on M. Caux's works, at Richmond, 303*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*; and on the town mansion, St. James's, 1,586*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*[40] Hence it appears that the Prince's expenditure in building, at Richmond, for fifteen months, was 2,726*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.*, as certified by the account of William Smith, paymaster of the Prince's works and buildings, who, with his master artisans, received during the same time, 223*l.* 12*s.* Such disbursements were, however, small, compared with the Prince's general expenses —in one year, 1610-11, the robes and stables cost

[40] MSS. of Sir Julius Cæsar, quoted by Dr. Birch—"Life of Prince Henry," p. 395.

8,821*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*; in the following year 11,282*l.* 13*s.*; while the privy-purse expenditure, from July, 1610, to November, 1612, was 13,053*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.*[41] A short time previous to his death, his Royal Highness, unsolicited, granted pensions to those of his attendants who had served him most faithfully, to the annual value of nearly 1,200*l.* According to a paper in the Record-office, the monthly charges of the houses at Richmond and St. James's, from June 1, 1610, to March, 1611, was 2,946*l.* 16*s.* 4½*d.*[42]

Notices have been preserved of the works executed in Richmond at this period. Inigo Jones's estimate for the piling, planking, and brickwork, for making three "aits," is dated May 17. On the 30th of April, 1611, the charges of repairs for the new library, gallery, &c., and for work done at St. James's Palace since the 1st of June of the preceding year, are in a paper of that date preserved in the Record-office.[43] A paper, dated 30th June, gives the charges of digging and levelling the ground of the Friars, and the works about the aits at Richmond, since the 1st of the preceding November. There is added a sketch of the ground-plan of the Friars.[44] Another document, dated in the following July, gives the expenses of the work done "at the Friars."[45] And Sir Charles Cornwallis, writing to the Lord Treasurer in the following month, mentions the building there going on.[46] On the 26th of Sep-

[41] Sir Charles Cornwallis's "Discourses," &c., 325.
[42] State Papers—James I.—Domestic.
[43] Ibid. [44] Ibid., lxiv. [45] Ibid., lxv. [46] Ibid.

tember a warrant was issued to pay 52*l.* 3*s.* to John Thorp, surveyor, for repairing the posts, pales, and rails of Richmond Park, carried away by the flood last winter.[47]

Among the warrants for payment of the household expenses of Prince Henry, is one dated the 1st of January, 1611, for 16,000*l.*, instead of 15,000*l.*, monthly.[48] On the 9th of February occurs another for 4,976*l.* 12*s.* 7¼*d.* residue of rent due, together with 721*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* surplusage for his apparel, and for his robes as Prince of Wales.[49] On the last day of the year the King presented him with a thousand pounds, as a new year's gift; and he also received 103*l.* 10*s.* 2¼*d.* for arrears of rent due.[50] In the following year there is a warrant, dated January 27th, for paying 9,045*l.* 18*s.* 10¾*d.*, as part of 12,190*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* allowed him yearly.[51]

In the second year of King James's reign in England, he presented Adam Newton with 200*l.*[52] In the following year, 2,000*l.*[53]; in the eighth year, 2,000*l.*; in the tenth year, 1612, Prince Henry had a free gift of 8,100*l.*[54] Many of the Prince's attendants received large sums from the King, independently of their proper salaries. It is stated also that the Prince received—[55]

[47] "Warrant Book," iii., 28.
[48] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, lxi.
[49] "Warrant Book," ii., 192.
[50] Ibid., iii., 39.
[51] Ibid., iii., 37.
[52] Somers's "Tracts," ii., 373.
[53] Ibid., 374.
[54] Ibid., 378.
[55] Ibid., 368.

	£	s.	d.
Out of the Duchy of Cornwall, ...	12,000	0	0
In lands and rents for receivers-general . .	12,906	0	0
In ready money and new year's gifts, &c. .	21,094	0	0
	46,000	0	0

In another place the assignation in lands and rents to the Prince is 2,906*l.* The aid money collected throughout England to make Prince Henry a knight produced 21,800*l.*

On the 17th of November, 1612, a warrant was issued for paying 7,000*l.* to Sir David Foulis, for sums disbursed for the deceased Prince. Richard Connock, his auditor, drew up for the King an account of the state of his revenues, amounting to 54,315*l.* 7*s.* 10¼*d.*, and of his debts unpaid at his decease; which left a balance in his favour of 9,471*l.* 8*s.* 1¾*d.*, without calculating the value of his horses, wardrobe, arms, jewels, plate, medals, and other works of art, of great value.[56]

In the statement of the commissioners of the revenue, the allowance made to the late Prince Henry is estimated at 50,000*l.*, exactly the sum added to the King's income by the Prince's death, as mentioned in a letter from Sir William Fleetwood to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated the 17th of the following month.[57]

The Prince received his instructions in Art from Solomon de Caus, a native of Gascony, who was also employed as architect for his Royal Highness, for whom he is said to have designed a picture-gallery at

[56] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, lxxi.

[57] Ibid.

Richmond Palace, though Inigo Jones has received the credit of it. He addressed to his patron, in 1612, from Richmond Palace, a folio work, entitled, "La Perspective ou Raison des Ombres et Miroirs."[58] He had then been nearly three years in his service, and in March, 1610, began to receive from the Prince a pension of 100*l.* a year.[59] According to another authority, he had received, on account of the works at Richmond, 2,826*l.* 0*s.* 10½*d.*, and there remained due to him, when his patron died, 303*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*[60] About the same time he was employed upon Greenwich and Somerset gardens.[61]

Inigo Jones—a name with which the reader is more familiar—was engaged by the Prince as surveyor of the works, probably his first regular employment about the Court, with the exception of his having assisted in devising the machinery of some of the masques. What salary he had from his patron we cannot ascertain, but there is little doubt that he had his share in the Prince's building expenses.

In enumerating the supporters of Art in England, Peacham names "the noble Prince Henry" as among the most illustrious of its patrons and favourers.[62] On the 26th January, 1611, Sir Walter Cope, writing to Sir Dudley Carleton, says: "Purchases of old paintings, at a reasonable rate, would be acceptable to the

[58] Dallaway's "Walpole," i., 221.
[59] Birch's "Life of Prince Henry," Appendix, 466.
[60] "Archæologia," xv., 17.
[61] Lansdowne MSS., No. 446. [62] "The Gentleman's Exercise," 7.

Prince.[63] In the month of July a petition was presented to the Lord Treasurer by John Morison for 400*l.* (balance of 900*l.*) due from the Prince for an ewer of agate.[64] A costly purchase.

In the account of the Royal expenses there are these items :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
To the Lady Helen, Marchioness of Northampton, for keeping Richmond House and wardrobe, 12*d.* by the day; for keeping the garden and orchard there, 6*d.* by the day; and for keeping the park there, 18*d.* by the day. In all, by the year	54	15	0
Stephen Pearse, for keeping the wardrobe at Richmond, 6*d.* a-day; and for fire, 4*l.* a-year	16	13	0
Edward Lovell, for keeping the [orchard] and garden at Richmond, 6*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* by the year; and for weeding and other necessary charges, 4*l.* by the year[65]	10	1	8
William Risbrook, under-keeper of Richmond House, for his fee by the year . . .	30	0	0
Jasper Slattenge, for keeping the garden for the silk worms, for his fee by the year .	60	0	0
John and Francis Bonnell, for the attendance about the silk worms, by the year . .	60	0	0
George Kirkham and Michael his son, keepers of the game about Richmond, 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem	27	7	6

At this period there were paid keepers of the game about Westminster, two—Lambeth and Clapham, and

[63] State Papers—James I.– Domestic, lxi.

[64] Ibid., lxv.

[65] In the account of Prince Henry's establishment, the keeper of the garden and orchard at Richmond was Edward Lonnell, who received 49*s.* 4*d.* livery.—*Ordinances and Regulations*, 328.

Wandsworth.[66] Some of the King's servants appear to have had curious occupations.[67]

	£	s.	d.
George Colmer, the King's cockmaster, had .	200	0	1
John Wood, and Robert his son, for keeping and breeding of cormorants, by the year .	45	12	6

Falconry must have been an expensive sport, for the master falconer to the King, Robert Lord Dormer, received 44*l.* per month, besides 1*s.* 4*d.* per day, within the manor of Elmer in Buckinghamshire; eight other falconers to the King received from 91*l.* 5*s* to 31*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* a-year, making an annual total of 981*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*; but this includes a charge of 48*l.* 5s. to Eustace Norton, falconer to the Prince,[68] who received from Prince Henry 24*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, as did three other falconers.[69] The regal expenses for hunting were also considerable; the park and forest keepers taking 281*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*; the game-

[66] Somers's "Tracts," ii., 388.

[67] Ibid., 387. "Some curious illustrations of sporting in the reign of James I. exist among the Domestic series of the State Papers of that reign. On the 10th of February a warrant was issued to pay William Tuckey 6*d.* a-day for keeping pheasants on Hounslow Heath. On March 20th a payment is made to William Henslowe and Edward Allen, well-known names in the history of the drama, 42*l.* 10*s.*, together with 1*s.* a-day for the future, for keeping two white bears and a young lion. On September 19th, Sir Roger Aston, writing from Theobalds, the King's favourite hunting-park, states that the old buck is not to be killed till the arrival of Prince Henry. On the 25th of July, 1612, a warrant was issued to pay William Stacey, under-keeper of Marylebone Park, 100*l.*, for his great charge for keeping deer there for his Majesty's recreation in hunting."

[68] Somers's "Tracts," ii., 393.

[69] "Ordinances and Regulations," 327.

keepers on the royal estates receiving an annual income of 808*l.* 16*s.*, and the huntsmen 843*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.*; of this Sir Patrick Howme, master of the privy harriers, received 220*l.*, and Thomas Pott, master of the hunt, 250*l.* 15*s.* It also includes an item of 18*d.* per diem, and 1*l.* per annum livery, to Richard Gwynne, groom of the harriers to the Prince.[70] Prince Henry employed a master of harriers, three yeomen, and two grooms, a yeoman of the leash, at 40*l.* a-year; a master of buckhounds, a sergeant, twelve yeomen, six grooms, and a waggoner, at wages varying from 90*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, sometimes with livery.

Respecting his establishment at Richmond, Sir Charles Cornwallis states:—

"His family was ample, as that which consisted of few less than five hundred, many of them young gentlemen born to great fortunes, in the prime of their years, when their passions and appetites were most strong, and their powers and experiences to temper and to subject them to reason most weak. His judgment, his grave and princely aspect, gave temper to them all; his very eye served for a commandment, and more and better service have I noted to be done by the very looks of him, than by sharp reprehensions of some other princes. If any questions or quarrels were moved amongst his servants, he would give a stop, and stay to them at the very beginning, by referring them to some such of his principal officers as he thought to be most scient in matters of that nature, and best did know to give just compensation to the injured, and reproof to them that should

[70] "Ordinances and Regulations," 392.

be found to have offered the wrong; so as in so numerous a family there was not so much as any blows given, or any countenance of quarrel or debate between any."[71]

We know not where to look for a more perfect picture of domestic government—the wise and temperate rule of one who was but a boy in years.

"The banquets and feasts that at any time he made," adds Sir Charles Cornwallis, "his desire was that they should be magnificent, and agreeing with his princely dignity; yet not without an especial eye and care had, that nothing should be spent in disorder, or the charges made greater through the want of providence or well-managing by his officers: in those he ever affected the demonstrations of a princely greatness, and that all things should pass with decency and decorum, and without rudeness, noise, or disorder."[72]

"He was a Prince," writes Sir Simonds D'Ewes in his diary, "rather addicted to martial studies than to goff, tennis,[73] or other boys' play—a true lover of the English nation, and a sound Protestant; abhorring not only the idolatry, superstition, and bloody persecutions of the Romish synagogue, but being free also from the Lutheran leaven—which had then so far spread itself in Germany, and hath since ruined it. He esteemed not buffoons and parasites, nor vain swearers and atheists, but had learned and godly men—such as were John Lord Harrington, of Exton, and others—for the dear companions of his life: so as had not our sins caused God to

[71] "A Discourse of the most Illustrious Prince Henry."

[72] Ibid.

[73] The only reproach that Sir Charles Cornwallis ventures to bring against his deceased master is, that he was too fond of tennis, which, in fact, was a manly game.

take from us so peerless a Prince, it was very likely that popery would have been well purged out of Great Britain and Ireland by his care, and that the Church of England had not suffered such shipwreck abroad as it hath done for near upon the sixteen years last past."[74]

Arthur Wilson says, "The government of this young Prince's house was with much discretion, modesty, sobriety, and (which was looked upon as too great an upbraiding the contrary proceedings of his father) in an high reverence to piety—not swearing himself, nor keeping any that did—through which he came to be advanced beyond an ordinary measure in the affections of the city, to whom he was not only plausible in his carriage, but very just in his payments; so far his credit outreached the King's, both in the Exchange and the Church."[75]

"Plenty and magnificence," we are assured by the Prince's Treasurer, "were the things that in his house he especially affected; but not without such a temper as might agree with the rules of frugality and moderation. He caused to be set down in writing unto him the several heads of all his annual charges, the ordinary expense of his house and his stables, the charge of apparel and wardrobe, his rewards, and all such other things as yearly were to be issued out of his coffers; and comparing them with his annual revenue, did so judiciously fashion and proportion them by shortening what he found superfluous, and increasing what was wanting and too short in any of them, as he reduced them to a certainty, and such as his revenues would well defray; besides a yearly spare of some thousand of pounds, which he reserved for a

[74] Halliwell's "Autobiography," i., 48.

[75] "Secret History," &c., 9.

store or treasure, to be ready for all events and occasions accidental."[76]

Higher testimony as to the manner in which the Prince joined qualities rarely united—generosity with economy—could not be obtained for any sovereign in Christendom.

Though the Prince of Wales lived in so princely a style, and was a generous master to his servants, at his death he was said to have been but 9,000*l.* in debt—a sum more than covered by the value of the property he had left, "specially his horses and pictures," writes Mr. Chamberlain, "which are many and rare; and his medals or ancient coins of gold will yield about 3,000*l.*"[77] Their present value must be more than three times that sum. In a subsequent letter, his property is estimated as "far beyond his debts." The writer adds, "His papers showed him to have many strange and vast conceits, and projects."[78] There is no doubt that the intelligence of this highly-gifted Prince was as much in advance of his years as of his time. His brain was stored with grand conceptions, and he was constantly brooding over their realization. With the exception of the Anglo-Saxon Alfred, we know of no prince who entertained so exalted an idea of his position, and of the responsibilities attached to it. With Alfred's philanthropic sagacity he united the chivalrous bravery of Edward the Black Prince, and the earnest piety of

[76] Sir Charles Cornwallis's "Discourse," &c.

[77] "Court and Times of James the First," i., 207.

[78] Ibid.

Edward the Confessor. In short, he appears to have possessed not only the attributes for which his ancestors were eminently famous, but to have monopolized the virtues of which his dynasty was notoriously deficient.

"I wish it were in my power," fervently exclaims Sir Charles Cornwallis, at the conclusion of his recollections of Prince Henry, "to raise such a monument unto his fame as might eternise it unto all posterities." Nearly two centuries and a half have elapsed since the decease of this incomparable Prince, and yet no memorial worthy of an object so illustrious has ever been attempted. The literary notices of his Royal Highness by his cotemporaries have been tantalizingly scanty; and his only published biography is the dry and ill-digested volume of Dr. Birch. Nothing in the ordinary sense of a public monument exists. It cannot be too late to erect one; and where can there be a better site for it than among those scenes, the picturesque beauty of which, for the best years of his honourable life, formed his chief enjoyment?

Twelve years after Prince Henry's death, a striking proof was given by the City of London of the tender interest with which the citizens continued to regard his memory—for the annual pageant then exhibited appears to have been got up much more to do honour to the illustrious Prince, who had united himself to their Company in 1607, than for the glorification of a less eminent merchant-tailor, Master John Gore, who having been raised to the dignity of Lord Mayor of London, in this autumn of 1624, the spectacle was produced ostensibly

for him. These city "shows" were of the same species of entertainment as the masqes patronized at Court; but were generally superior, in possessing a moral purpose. John Webster, the author of the one here referred to, had recourse to the medley of heathen deities and Christian heroes familiar at Whitehall. The passages quoted will give the reader a pretty accurate idea of the nature of the entire composition.

The author, in his description of the pageant, says —"The last I call the monument of gratitude, which thus dilates itself:—

"Upon an artificial rock set with mother-of-pearl and such other precious stones as are found in quarries[!], are placed four curious pyramids, charged with the Prince's arms, *the three feathers*, which by day yield a glorious show, and by night a more goodly, for they have lights in them, that at such time as my Lord Mayor returns from Paul's shall make certain ovals and squares resemble precious stones. The rock expresses the riches of the Kingdom Prince Henry was born heir to; the pyramids, which are monuments for the dead, that he is deceased. On the top of this rests half a celestial globe; in the midst of this hangs the Holy Lamb in the sunbeams; on either side of these an angel. Upon a pedestal of gold stands the figure of Prince Henry with his coronet, George, and garter; in his left hand he holds a circlet of crimson velvet, charged with four Holy Lambs, such as our Company choose masters with. In several cants [divisions] beneath sits first Magistracy tending a bee-hive, to express his gravity in youth and forward industry to have proved an absolute governor. Next Liberality—by her a dromedary—showing his speed and alacrity

in gratifying his followers. Navigation, with a Jacob's staff and compass, expressing his desire that his reading that way might in time grow to the practice and building to that purpose one of the goodliest ships was ever launched in the river. In the next Unanimity, with a chaplet of lilies, in her lap a sheaf of arrows; showing he loved nobility and commonality with an entire heart. Next Industry on a hill where ants are hoarding up corn, expressing his forward inclination to all noble exercise. Next Chastity, by her a unicorn; showing it guideth all other virtues, and clears the fountain-head from poison. Justice, with her properties. Then Obedience—by her an elephant, the strongest beast, but most observant to man of any creature. Then Peace, sleeping upon a cannon, alluding to the eternal peace he now possesses. Fortitude, a pillar in one hand, a serpent wreathed about the other, to express his height of mind, and the expectation of an undaunted resolution. These twelve thus seated, I figure Loyalty, as well sworn servant to this city as to this Company, and at my Lord Mayor's coming from Paul's and going down Wood Street, I made Amade le Grand deliver this speech unto him."

Here, as though prose was deemed inadequate to meet the demands of the subject, the inventor of the pageant produces the following oration in verse:—

"Of all the triumphs which your eye has viewed,
This the fair monument of Gratitude,
This chiefly should your eye and ear employ,
That was of all your brotherhood the joy.
Worthy Prince Henry, Fame's best president,
Called to a higher Court of Parliament,
In his full strength of youth and height of blood,
And which crowned all, when he was truly good.

On virtue and on worth he still was throwing
Most bounteous showers, where'er he found them growing
He never did disguise his ways by art,
But suited his intents unto his heart;
And loved to do good more for goodness sake
Than any retribution here could make.
Such was the Prince, such are the noble hearts
Who when they die, yet die not in all parts,
But from th' integrity of a brave mind
Leave a most clear and eminent fame behind.
Thus hath this jewel not quite lost his ray,
Only cas'd up 'gainst a more glorious day;
And be it remembered that our company
Have not forgot him who ought ne'er to die.
Yet wherefore should our sorrow grieve him dead,
When a new Phœnix springs up in his stead,
That as he seconds him in every grace,
May second him in brotherhood and place."[79]

Another curious illustration of the esteem in which Prince Henry was held was published in the year 1624, in a pamphlet representing the result of a consultation between Henry VIII., Edward VI., Prince Henry, and the Queens Mary, Elizabeth, and Anne of Denmark, on the match in contemplation between Prince Charles

[79] "Monuments of honour derived from remarkable antiquity, and celebrated in the honourable city of London, at the sole magnificent charge and expenses of the Right Worthy and Worshipful Fraternity of the Eminent Merchant Taylors. Directed in their most affectionate love at the confirmation of their right worthy brother John Gore in the high office of his Majesty's Lieutenant over this his Royal Chamber, expressing, in a magnificent triumph, all the pageants, chariots of glory, temples of honour, besides a specious and goodly sea-triumph, as well particularly to the honour of the city as generally to the glory of this our kingdome. Invented and written by John Webster, Merchant Taylor. *Non morunt hæc monumenta mori.*" Printed at London by Nicholas Okes, 1624, 4to.

(the new Phœnix just mentioned) and the Infanta Donna Maria.[80] The manner in which the Prince developes the foreign policy of England, and the knowledge of everything affecting the true interests of the country he is there made to display, show the high opinion still entertained of his intelligence and patriotism.

In the correspondence of the time many memorials have been preserved of the apprehensions created by Prince Henry's mysterious death. One writer, who held the post of Secretary to the English Ambassador at Paris, refers to the Prince, as :—

"The flower of his house, the glory of his country, and the admiration of all strangers, which, in all places, had imprinted a great hope on the minds of the well affected, as it had already stricken terror into the hearts of his enemies; who, perhaps (for of this lamentable accident we have yet no particular relation), fearing the growing virtues of that young Prince, have used the traitorous venom of their abominable practises to cut him off in his youth. And this I do not apprehend without cause, considering the several advertisements which I saw a month ago coming out of England, Holland, and Calais, of strange rumours which were in these parts, of some great and imminent practice in hand, for the success whereof it was written that in some places our adversaries had made solemn prayers; and out of Calais it was especially advertised, that in some parts [Flanders] they were in expectation of the death of some great Prince. But, alas!" he continues, with increased

[80] "Vox Cœli, or News from Heaven"—Somers's "Tracts," ii., 555; attributed to Sir Robert Cotton.

fervour, "we did little apprehend, that such ominous prognostications would have lighted upon the person of that *vigorous* young Prince, whose extraordinary great parts and virtues made many men hope and believe that God had reserved and destined him, as a chosen instrument, to be the standard-bearer of his quarrel in *these miserable times*, to work the restoration of his Church, and the destruction of the Romish idolatry."[81]

In another communication printed in the same collection from a gentleman who had opportunities of being well informed on state affairs, and was a few years afterwards appointed Secretary of State, written to the English Ambassador to the States-General of Holland, there is a passage of a similar character :—

"Touching our Palladium, which we have lost," says the writer, "I hold it neither fit to write what I conceive, and less fit to be written to your Lordship. It is given out by his confidants, that he [the Prince] had a design to have come over with the Palsgrave, and have drawn Count Maurice along with him, with some promises, and done some exploit upon the place that shot the Palsgrave's Harbinger, and haply to have seen the Landgrave's daughter, or I know not what. That this he meant to have done, whatsoever it was, *clam patrem et senatum suum;* and, hatching some secret design which was made subject to misconception, it is now become abortive like that of Henri IV., of France."[82]

[81] John Beaulieu to Turnbull, 12th Nov., 1612—Winwood's "Memorials," iii., 410.

[82] Ibid., Robert Naunton to Sir Ralph Winwood, 17th Nov., 1612.

Fulke Greville, Lord Broke, furnishes many details that indicate deep hostility between the favourite and the Prince,[83] and it appears that the King supported the former in opposition to his heir. That the Viscount presumed upon his position with his sovereign to act in some way insultingly towards the Prince, must be inferred from the proposal one of his Royal Highness's attendants made to kill him, which was silenced by the Prince's indignant reply, "Were it necessary, I could do that myself."

"A man may say of this Prince," says Fulke Greville, "as was said of Macænus, both for wisdom and strength of body, there was not the like to be found among the English. [He was] the hope of England. Strange was the accident," he adds, "and many the rumours that ensued upon his death. Some said that a French physician [Dr. Mayerne] killed him, others that he was poisoned."[84]

Sir Thomas Edmondes' secretary writes, Dec. 3, again to Mr. Turnbull, resident at Brussels:—

"Your last of the 20th of the last month had the same effect towards me which you express to have found by those of your friends, written for the condoling of that lamentable accident of your poor Prince's death: having only refreshed in my heart the bleeding wound of that unspeakable grief, for the which I know no better remedy at this time than humbly to submit ourselves under the mighty hand of God, to undergo with patience the course of his decree, and, with

[83] "Harleian Miscellany," 294.
[84] Ibid., 294.

a serious feeling of repentance, provoke his merciful blessing upon those that are remaining."[85]

In noticing the death of Prince Henry, Dr. Lingard has been led by his religious prejudices to commit a gross injustice to his memory. The Prince, during the latter years of his life, was hailed by the popular voice as the champion of Protestantism, and a favorer of a more strict form of its profession then followed by that increasing body of sectarians known as Puritans. In their opinion—

> "Henry the Eighth pulled down the abbeys and cells,
> But *Henry the Ninth* shall pull down bishops and bells."[86]

He had shown a marked hostility to Popery on more than one occasion, and particularly set himself against accepting a Popish bride.[87] "His death," says the Catholic chronicler, "some writers have attributed to poison, *some to debauchery*, and others, with greater probability, to his own *turbulence and obstinacy*."[88] The Prince's freedom from the depravity that surrounded him is insisted on by every historical authority—and the acknowledged amiability of his disposition is equally well authenticated. The only instance that can be quoted of his professing an attachment to any female, refers to the young Countess of Essex, at whose first nuptials he had attended; but it is expressly stated

[85] Winwood's "Memorials," iii., 414.
[86] Harrington's "Nugæ Antiquæ," ii., 1804.
[87] Arthur Wilson's "Secret History," x., 1693.
[88] "History of England," ix., 102.

that this was assumed merely to annoy the favourite Carr, of whom she was enamoured, and that he very quickly left her to follow out her infamous designs.

As regards the alleged poisoning of the Prince, an enquiry into the charge would occupy more space than we can here afford. A legal writer[89] has devoted a volume to the trial of the Earl and Countess of Somerset for poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury, but he stopped short in his investigation, or rather contented himself with the secondary instead of the primary branch of the subject.

[89] Amos, "Grand Oyer of Poisoning," 1846.

CHAPTER III.

Prince Charles—His Education—His Residence at Richmond—His Establishment there—The King's Favourites.

THE second son of James I. is so prominent a character of the age in which he lived, that the reader must be content with notices of his earlier life, much of which was passed at Richmond, and such additional memorials as connect his subsequent career with the history of the palace. Before his arrival in England, the Prince had exhibited so many infirmities,[90] that fears for his life were entertained. Sir Robert Carey, whose ride from Richmond to Edinburgh had given him a claim on the King's gratitude, appears to have been referred to in this emergency.

Sir Robert says, "There were many great ladies suitors for the keeping of the Duke, but when they

[90] He was born at Dunfermline, in Scotland, on the 19th of November, 1600.

see how weak a child he was, and not likely to live, their hearts were down, and none of them were desirous to take charge of him." Through his interest with the lady of the Lord Chancellor of Scotland (Lady Dunfermline), Sir Robert got his wife appointed to this hazardous post. According to his own account this adventurous courtier had contrived to create many enemies at Court, who were glad that so onerous a charge had devolved on him, as they felt assured the speedy dissolution of the sickly infant would cause Carey's entire removal. His almost desperate state may be gathered from the following description :—

"The Duke was past four years old when he was first delivered to my wife; he was not able to go, nor scant stand alone, he was so weak in his joints, and especially his ankles, insomuch as many feared they were out of joint." [91]

The King, in so bad a case, could think only of the most violent remedies. The Royal child suffered from an impediment in his speech, therefore his Majesty directed that "the string under his tongue should be cut," and to improve the feeble and misshapen limbs he ordered iron boots. Lady Carey, however, proved a careful nurse and a sensible woman. She urgently remonstrated against such barbarous remedies, and fortunately for the future sitter to Vandyke and Rubens, was permitted to employ a more judicious treatment. He was brought to England; and at Windsor, in January, 6th 1605, was created a

[91] Carey's "Memoirs," 203.

Knight of the Bath, and invested, while carried in the arms of the Lord Admiral,[92] with the title of the Duke of York.[93] The child, still extremely delicate, remained under the charge of Lady Carey till the year 1606, when Thomas Murray was appointed his tutor, and his education commenced in earnest.

The Duke's obligations to Lady Carey were acknowledged and repaid. She obtained a pension of 400*l.* a-year, and was received a second time into the Queen's service as Mistress of her Majesty's "Sweet Coffers." Through his wife's influence with the King, as Sir Robert acknowledges, he obtained "a suit that was worth to him afterwards four or five thousand pounds."[94]

It was in the following year that James Cleland published his "Institution of a Young Nobleman," addressing him in the dedication as "The most Illustrious and Potent Prince;" at which period the Duke is described as from debility having crooked legs and a heavy and ungraceful carriage, an awkward impediment in his speech, an irritable temper, and a somewhat perverse disposition.[95]

The Duke of York was much at Richmond, and

[92] Winwood's "Memorials," ii., 43. "My Lord Admiral bare him, two others went as supporters, and six marched before with the ornaments." In the account of the Duke's creation in Stowe's "Annales," 856, this is also stated.

[93] The patent of creation is dated January 6, 1605. "Rymer. Fœdera," xvi., 606.

[94] "Memoirs of Robert Carey," 202.

[95] Kennett, iii., 2.

Prince Henry sometimes took the privilege of an elder brother to rally him on his infirmities, which was sure to be resented. Dr. Perinchief, quoted by Bishop Kennett, has stated that Prince Henry, who, as Cornwallis elsewhere assures us, "entirely loved"[96] his brother, encouraged the studiousness for which the young Duke was now remarkable; and one day took the cap of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was in their company, and playfully placing it on his brother's head, gravely told him that if he continued a good boy, and followed his book, he should one day be Archbishop. The cap was instantly dashed to the ground, and trampled under his feet.

There is reason to believe that "Babie Charles," as the King had long been in the habit of calling him, was attentive to his studies and made fair progress. From his tutor he was summoned to Court to figure in the masques at Whitehall, by which time his person must have undergone considerable improvement. His first recorded appearance at these entertainments was in one given to celebrate his elder brother's having been created Prince of Wales. In "Winwood's Memorials"[97] there is a relation of the formalities and shows made on this occasion (4th June, 1610), wherein it is stated:—

"The next day was graced with a most glorious masque, which was double. In the first came first in the little Duke of York, between two great sea slaves, the chiefest of Nep-

[96] "Discourse on Prince Henry;" Harleian Miscellany.

[97] Vol. iii., p. 179.

tune's servants, attended upon by twelve little ladies, all of them daughters of Earls or Barons. By one of these men a speech was made unto the King and Prince, expressing the conceit of the masque; by the other a sword, worth 2000 crowns at least, was put into the Duke of York's hands, who presented the same unto the Prince his brother from the first of those ladies which were to follow in the next masque. This done, the Duke returned unto his former place in the midst of the stage, and the little ladies performed their dance to the amazement of all the beholders, considering the tenderness of their years and the many intricate changes of the dance, which was so disposed that which way soever the changes went the little Duke was still found to be in the midst of these little dancers."

Miss Strickland assures her readers that the Duke of York at this time had "grown a very beautiful boy,"[98] but gives no authority for such a statement. He had improved from the helpless and ungraceful child of a few years back, but there is no trustworthy cotemporary evidence of such an amount of personal attractions as is here lavished upon him. In the following year, when he was created a knight of the garter, he is described as "being now advanced into a *more* hopeful youth"—that is, from an almost desperate state of debility and deformity; and it is guardedly added, that he "laboured under little imperfection, except that of some natural impediment in his speech, which made him hesitate, and a little stammer, and made conversation less agreeable to him."[99]

[98] "Queens of England," v., 137.

[99] Kennett's "History of England," iii., 2.

A report having been circulated that Sir John Harrington was making his court to King James, by suggesting that Sutton, the wealthy merchant, then engaged in building and founding the Charter-House, would bequeath his large fortune to Prince Charles, provided the King would create him a Baron—Sir John having received letters and messages from Sutton complaining of this, wrote to him, on the 12th of June, 1608, excusing himself, as he considered that he had sufficient authority in a letter from Sutton, he had seen, which was still in existence. Fortunately for the thousands who have benefited by this admirable charity, the merchant preferred the advantage of others to his own; and though he declined the proposed honour on account of his age, it is clear, from the tone of the remonstrance to Sir John Harrington,[1] that he was not to be diverted from the great work in which he was engaged, by any personal distinction James could confer upon him. The King, however, contrived to get 10,000*l.* out of his executors.

Prince Charles wrote to his elder brother, whom he

[1] "Your strange message," writes Sir John, "first by my man, after by my son, now seconded with your speech to myself, did greatly trouble me—that I have undone you, overthrown your estate, disturbed your designs; that no man dare buy any land of you, be your feoffee, nor take any trust from you; so that, which you had ordained to good uses, and to redeem your sins, was now so encumbered, as you were scant master of your own; and all by means of a bruit among your friends, raised as you suppose by me—that you have made Prince Charles your heir, and the King your executor."—*Nugæ Antiquæ*, ii., 60.

addressed as "Fratri clarissimo," the following epistle in Latin, in the year 1609; it proves clearly the kindness of Prince Henry, in allowing the sickly boy to enjoy in his society the indulgences mentioned so gratefully in the first sentence:—

"Nothing can be more agreeable, dearest brother, than your return to us; for to enjoy your company, to ride with you, to hunt with you, will yield to me supreme pleasure. I am now reading the Conversations of Erasmus, from which I am sure I can learn both the purity of the Latin tongue, and elegance of behaviour. Farewell!

"Your Highness's most loving brother,

"CHARLES, Duke of York and Albany."[2]

The latter part indicates the influence of the tutor, to whom James I. subsequently addressed the following official letter:—

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.

"Forasmuch as we, considering the pains and travails employed by you, not only in the careful education of our dearly-beloved son, the Prince, and instructing him in all kinds of good learning, according to the capacity of his tender years; but also in penning and framing his missive letters in divers languages, directed either to ourself, or foreign Princes; are willing both to testify an acceptance of this your service formerly done, and to encourage you to continue the penning and writing of all such missives as shall be directed by our said dearly beloved son the Prince, in any of his affairs, within or without our realm; giving and granting unto you, to this effect, the custody and keeping

[2] Halliwell—"Letters of Kings of England," ii., 114.

of our said son's signet, with such allowance as shall be thought reasonable and fit, and all other privileges and pre-eminences belonging thereunto.[3]

"The King to Thomas Murray."

Another early letter of Prince Charles has been preserved. It is addressed to the King, but merely announces the important fact, that he is learning to decline substantives and adjectives.[4] A third is addressed to the Queen, who was then suffering from an attack of gout. The Prince writes:—

"I wish from my heart that I might help to find a remedy to your disease; the which I must bear the more patiently, because it is the sign of a long life. But I must for many causes be sorry, and especially because it is troublesome to you, and has deprived me of your most comfortable sight, *and of many good dinners;* the which I hope by God's grace shortly to enjoy."[5]

His filial affection evidently had more to do with his stomach than his heart.

Prince Henry took a lively interest in the establishment of the Duke, his brother, when this was formed, in the year 1611. Sir Robert Carey desired an influential position in it, but the Prince was anxious that it should be under the government of a gentleman of higher qualifications, Sir James Fullerton; who, according to Carey's acknowledgment, was "of great learning, and very good worth." The latter held an appointment

[3] The original is in the Bodleian Library. Halliwell—"Letters of Kings of England," ii., 114.

[4] "Maitland Club-Book." [5] "Memoirs."

in Ireland; and, having been sent for, a council was called, at which the King presided; when it was proposed that Fullerton should be governor of the Duke's household, and principal gentleman of his bedchamber; and that Carey, who, as we have already intimated, had made enemies at Court, who wanted his dismissal, in consideration of the services of himself and wife, should be also of the Duke's bedchamber, and keeper of his privy-purse. Sir Robert had a powerful friend in his kinsman the Earl of Suffolk, (Lord Chamberlain), who urged so strongly his pretensions,[6] that the King favoured his having the chief dignity. The council then decided that he should be principal gentleman, master of the robes, and keeper of the privy-purse.

[6] Lord Suffolk's speech to the King on this occasion is thus reported by Carey: "Sir, this gentleman [Sir James Fullerton] that is recommended to be so near the Duke, I have heard much worth of him, and by report he is a fit man for near attendance upon his grace. Notwithstanding, give me leave, I beseech you, to speak my knowledge of my cousin Carey: I have known him long, and the manner of his living—there was none in the late Queen's Court that lived in a better fashion than he did; he so behaved himself, that he was beloved of all in Court and elsewhere; wheresoever he went, the company he kept was the best, as well noblemen as others. He carried himself so as every honest man was glad of his company; he ever spent with the best, and wore as good clothes as any, and he exceeded in making choice of what he wore to be handsome and comely. His birth I need speak nothing of, it is known well enough; I leave him to your Majesty to dispose of: only this—sure I am there is none about the Duke that knows how to furnish him with clothes and apparel so well as he; and therefore, in my opinion, he is the fittest man to be master of the robes." This, adds the autobiographer, "cast the scales."

Prince Henry appears to have been much dissatisfied with this change; and, in an interview with the Lord Chamberlain, expressed his displeasure that the latter should have interfered to alter an arrangement already settled. But Lord Suffolk replied that he had stated nothing of Sir Robert Carey which was not true. As the King was not likely to make a second change, the Prince said to Lord Suffolk, "I hope it will not offend you if I can get Sir Robert Carey himself to accept of the second place." The Lord Chamberlain consented to abide by Sir Robert's decision, no doubt perfectly aware what this would be. The Prince is stated to have returned to his house "much troubled;" but this is Sir Robert Carey's report of the affair. He adds, that he waited on the Prince, who thus addressed him :—

"You know my brother is to have his household settled, and there are two places about him of equal worth. And because you have served him long, and are nobly born, it is reason you should have your choice. There is the surveyorship of his lands (which I take to be the best place), and the mastership of his robes. You have many friends, and, by having that office, you may do them and yourself good. The other I take to be a place of no such import. I thought good to know of yourself which you would make choice of."

Sir Robert Carey, however, as he had already proved, was too good a courtier not to know that his interests would be better advanced by accepting what

the King had conferred upon him, and by holding a position of paramount influence near the person of the King's favourite son; therefore, after thanking the Prince, he asked his pardon, declining the surveyorship, the duties of which, he said, he did not understand; adding, that if he had skill in anything, it was in the selection of good clothes.[7]

The Prince, who had no other object in view than the advantage of his younger brother, immediately acquiesced. So far from showing any ill-feeling against the cause of his disappointment, Sir Robert acknowledged that he subsequently treated him with the greatest kindness and consideration. Two days after his conversation with the Prince of Wales, he was sworn gentleman in ordinary of the Duke of York's bedchamber, and master of the rolls; and Sir James Fullerton was, at the same time, sworn one of the gentlemen of the Duke's bedchamber, master of his privy-purse, and surveyor-general of his lands.

That the Duke of York was much in the King's thoughts at this time, may be inferred from the grants made in his favour. On March 19th, 1611, was issued a warrant to pay 388*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.* to certain artificers, for making a barge for him, including other works for the Queen, Prince Henry, and Princess Elizabeth.[8] Three days later, a warrant was issued to pay Sir David Foulis, the Duke's treasurer, 250*l.* *per month*, for his household expenses; the sum of 200*l.* *a quarter* to Sir

[7] "Memoirs," 209.

[8] "Warrant Book," ii., 198.

Robert Carey, for his person, together with 100*l.* *per annum* for his privy-purse.[9] On the 5th of the following April another warrant was issued, to pay Lady Carey 326*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* On the 26th of June a warrant was issued for 193*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* arrears, and 400*l.* interest, for providing horses for the use of the Queen, and the Duke, and the Lady Elizabeth, and for the discharge of 400*l.* advanced for the same service. There was also a payment of 131*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*, for fees and other charges, at the Duke's installation as knight of the garter.[10] On the following day was issued a warrant, directing all the park-keepers of the Royal demesnes to deliver to Sir James Fullerton as much venison as he may require, not exceeding a brace of bucks from each.[11] On the 30th of the same month there was another, to pay Sir James, for the Duke's privy-purse, 200*l.* per annum, or any other sum the Lord-Treasurer may consider necessary.[12] On the 27th of July a payment was ordered of 30*l.*, to Sebastian le Pierre and John Duchesne, the Duke's dancing and singing masters.[13] On November 8th a warrant was issued for paying 20*l.* due, and 20*l.* yearly, to John Webb, master of the tennis plays, for instructing the Duke, and providing him with rackets and balls.[14] At the close of the year the sums of 200*l.* and 100*l.* were presented to him by the King, as new year's gifts.[15]

[9] "Warrant Book," ii., 199.
[10] Ibid., iii., 17.
[11] State Papers—James I.
[12] "Warrant Book," iii., 22.
[13] "Warrant Book," iii., 27.
[14] "Sign Manual," i., 92.
[15] "Warrant Book," iii., 39.

On the 15th of January, 1612, a grant was made in his favour of the reversion of the office of Lord High Admiral.[16] On the 25th of the same month a letter was addressed to Sir Robert Carey, Sir James Fullerton, and Thomas Murray, authorizing them, in the absence of Prince Henry, and the officers of the white staves of his household, to repress disorders in the Duke's household.[17] That the Duke was occasionally at Richmond may be gathered from a letter, written in the preceding November, by Sir Robert Carey and Sir James Fullerton to the officers of Prince Henry's household, requiring lodging for the clerk of the Duke's kitchen and his master cook.[18]

Among the State Papers belonging to the close of the year 1612, there is one containing a list of queries as to the mourning and place of Prince Charles in the funeral procession of his elder brother. That no time was lost in putting forward the claims of the new heir to the throne may be learned from a letter of Isaac Wake to Carleton, dated 31st of December, stating that overtures had been made from France and Spain for a marriage with Prince Charles, and that the idea of an alliance with the former power was eagerly pursued. Close to it, in the same volume, is a translation of a Latin epistle from Calvin, eulogising the deceased Prince for his early piety and promise, and mentioning the survivor as being so hopeful, "that there existed no great Prince in Christendom who doth not wish

[16] State Papers—James I—Domestic, lxviii.,
[17] Ibid. [18] Ibid., lxvii.

himself such a son."[19] In June of the following year, a paper was written, in the form of a political argument, on the happiest marriage for the Prince.

The disposition of his second son appears to have won the King's favour—its entire submissiveness, and almost feminine reserve, contrasting strongly with the resolute and more manly bearing of Prince Henry, and closely approaching some of the characteristics of his father. He had been diligent in his studies, but this had been in a direction that gratified the King's love of scholastic erudition, without exciting either fear or jealousy.[20] Having succeeded to his brother's position, a similar establishment became necessary, the consideration of which excited as many hopes as apprehensions. For some months, however, the preparations for the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth occupied Prince Charles so completely, that he appears to have thought of little else. He attended the Count Palatine on the 21st of December, after Prince Henry's funeral, when the Court received the order of the garter, on which occasion the King gave him the ribbon and diamond star that had been worn by the deceased Prince, and he was invested with the garter by Prince Charles and the Lord Admiral. At the betrothal of the lovers on the 27th, the Prince attended them to the

[19] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, lxxi.

[20] Chamberlain, writing to Carleton, in November, says, "The young Prince is to be kept within stricter compass than his late brother." And Sir Isaac Wake states, in December 2, "to keep him from Popery, two sober divines are ordered never to leave him."

chapel, and sat at the left hand of the King at the banquet which followed."[21] He was associated with them in their pleasure-trips. In January he was at Hampton Court enjoying the sport of hare-hunting[22] with his future brother-in-law. On the 7th of the following month he was present at a chapter of the garter, when the King presented Prince Frederick with a diamond-studded collar and George, that had belonged to Prince Henry, to whose memory so little respect was paid, that his town mansion was newly furnished for the bride, and the house of mourning was transferred into a palace of pleasure. The Prince enjoyed all the pageants by land and water that were got up in honour of the marriage. At the nuptial ceremony, which took place on the 14th, he assisted the Earl of Nottingham in leading in the bride, and sat on her left hand at the banquet that followed. The next day he took his place among the runners at the ring in the tilt-yard, and carried the ring away four times, excelling the bridegroom, who succeeded only twice, and the King who bore it away three times. In the subsequent masques and feasts he also took his place as a spectator or actor. Then he accompanied the bridegroom to Newmarket, where the King was. Thence the two proceeded to Cambridge, where, John Chamberlain writes,

"They had great entertainments, and had two very com-

[21] Green's "Princesses of England," v., 219.

[22] See letter of Prince Frederick to the King, June 12, 1613; published in collection of Stuart Letters by the Maitland Club.

mendable acts in divinity and philosophy, besides two excellent comedies; but they marred them with length, and made them grow tedious—the one of them lasting *between seven and eight hours*." [23]

The university comedies of those days must have been very severe trials of patience. Perhaps the recollection of this infliction kept the Prince Palatine and his brother-in-law away from Oxford, and hastened the return of the former to his own country; for this appears to have been one of the last of their amusements. The short mourning for Prince Henry did not expire till the 23rd of March, when there was a grand tilting match.

Prince Charles attended his sister and her husband on their departure from London, and on their way hunted with the bridegroom and the King at Greenwich on the 10th of April. On the 13th the Royal party proceeded to Rochester, and on the 14th inspected the vessels then in progress in the building-yards. There the King and Queen parted from the Princess Elizabeth; but her brother continued with her to Sittingbourne and Canterbury. In the archiepiscopal city they stayed several days. During this visit an old quarrel between two courtiers, Bruce of Kinloss and Edward Sackville, broke out into blows, but the combatants were separated.[24] A summons from the

[23] "Court and Times of James I.," 233. Winwood's "Memorials," iii., 441.

[24] Winwood's "Memorials," iii, 454. This quarrel terminated in a duel, which ended fatally for Lord Bruce.

King brought Prince Charles back to London, to be present at a festival of the garter on the 23rd; and the Princess and her husband, after many delays, sailed from Margate on the 26th.[25] The King was much taken up at this time with the divorce of Lady Essex, who, during the same period, appears to have been equally intent upon her diabolical scheme upon the life of Sir Thomas Overbury; therefore, no arrangements were made for the establishment of Prince Charles till about Midsummer.

Towards the end of the year 1613, the Prince was evidently increasing in consideration. A warrant, dated November 11, directs a payment of 1000*l.* per annum to Sir James Fullerton, keeper of the privy-purse, instead of 600*l.* a-year; nevertheless, the arrangements for the Prince's establishment had not been completed, for the Earl of Suffolk writes to a correspondent respecting the difficulties in the way of a settlement.[26] On the 20th of December, however, a commission was issued to Sir Robert Carey, Sir James Fullerton, and Sir Robert Carr, for the rule and government of the Prince, and all his household above the stairs; and one to Sir David Foulis, cofferer, for below the stairs.[27] The establishment at Richmond was arranged at this time; and in the spring of the year, April 13, we meet with a grant to Charles Burton, on the surrender of Michael Kirkham of the office of keeping the

[25] The details respecting the departure of the Princess Elizabeth are taken from Mrs. Everett Green's careful biography.

[26] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, lxxv.

[27] "Grant Book," 105.

King's game, of hares, pheasants, &c., near Richmond.[28] In the following October there was issued another grant to Miles Gnaresborough of the office of gamekeeper at Richmond for life."[29]

We find among the State Papers written in the spring and summer of 1613 abundant evidence that the new claims of Prince Charles were in no danger of being ignored. On the 12th of February Isaac Wake writes to Carleton that Thomas Murray is much courted for his position near the Prince, but that his honesty makes him well esteemed. On the 22nd of the same month, John Finet informs a correspondent that the Prince improves daily, and has thrice carried off the ring. On the 25th the King issued a declaration confirming the title of the Prince to the Duchy of Cornwall, and Chamberlain writes to Carleton that "the masque of the Gray's Inn and Inner Templars came off very well, the masquers being entertained by the King, but at the cost of the Prince and his followers, who had laid a wager for the charges of the feast, and lost it in running at the ring."[30]

On the 1st of July the ambassador from Savoy presented rich presents, among them a casket of rock crystal for the Queen, a suit of Milanese armour for the Prince, and a tiger and lioness to the King.[31] The Duke of Savoy must have thoroughly understood the tastes of those for whom his gifts were sent. On the

[28] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, lxxvii.

[29] "Grant Book," 133.

[30] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, lxxii.

[31] Ibid.

6th of the same month the lords are reported as being busy in ordering the Prince's household, as it was to be established at Richmond; but it is evident that the palace was not to be given to him as it had been possessed by his brother, for on the 16th of the month a grant was made to William Risbroke, of the office of under-keeper of "his Majesty's house at Richmond,"[32] and another to Nicholas Bird in reversion.[33] Still there existed a sense of insecurity, which Nicholas Langer thus expresses to Carleton—"The world is so altered since the death of my good master, that I know not which is the more dangerous—to turn courtier or clown." The education the Prince was receiving had a most pernicious effect upon his after-life. He was forced into a line of conduct that was more in accordance with "the Prince" of Machiavelli, than with the honourable course of instruction proper for the heir to the English throne. The worst charge ever brought against him was insincerity, and this characteristic was almost inevitable from the ill-judged proceedings of the King his father towards him, at this impressionable period of his life. The Prince continued to be frequently with the all-powerful favourite, and was taught to rely on him instead of on himself; and this want of self-dependance "grew with his growth and strengthened with his strength," notwithstanding that it was made to co-exist with a growing sense of the absoluteness of regal prerogative. The patron and dependant

[32] "Sign Manual," 35.

[33] "Warrant Book," i. 217; "Sign Manual," vi., No. 63.

came occasionally to Richmond, but were more frequently with the King in his hunting and in his progresses.

Early in the year 1614 the Prince was acquiring those accomplishments for which his brother had been famous. On the 7th of February a warrant was issued to pay £100 to M. de Tournon for teaching the Prince to toss the pike.[34] While making progress in this portion of his education, other appointments were made for him. On the 23rd of May, Sir Thomas Howard, who had married Lord Burghley's daughter, was made master of the Prince's house. The increasing interest of Somerset may be traced in a letter from Sir John Vaughan to him, presenting him with 100*l.* as a new year's gift, while asking for employment in the Prince's household.[35] That the Prince was improving may be learned from a letter by Dr. George Carleton to Sir Dudley, on the 10th of February, 1615, announcing that he had entered the Prince's service at the request of Sir James Fullerton, and had been commended both by the King and the Prince. He then alludes to the shameless avidity of persons about the Court seeking preferment, and gives his opinion, that he begs best who makes his service speak for him. He next observes that he would be silent about the Prince rather than tell an untruth, but must praise his accomplishments, his skill in riding, running at the ring, &c. Dr. Carleton was

[34] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, lxxvi.

[35] Ibid., lxxxviii.

desirous of playing his court cards skilfully, therefore adds an opinion that Prince Charles possesses more understanding than his brother had at the same age; and that he was in behaviour, sober, grave, and sweet—in speech very advised—that he was without any evil inclinations, and willing to take advice.[36] Whether this opinion came to the King's ears we do not know, but that his Royal Highness was rapidly gaining in favour is evident from a warrant, dated March 17, for payment of 2952*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* to George Heriot for jewels and workmanship for the Prince."[37] About this time another of the Howard family (Sir Charles) was provided for with the office of keeper of Mortlake Park for life.[38]

The settlement of the Prince's household at Richmond continued to excite many heartburnings at Court. Mr. Lorkins, in a letter to Sir Thomas Puckering, dated June 24, states that differences had arisen between Prince Charles's tutor and the late Prince's secretary, as to the secretaryship in the new household, and that the latter would relinquish his claims on being appointed his Royal Highness's receiver-general. He says that the mastership of the horse had also many competitors, for which Sir Thomas Howard was an importunate suitor; and that Ramsay, first equerry to the Prince, would feel wronged if he did not obtain it; that Sir David Murray, who had been first gen-

[36] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, lxxx.
[37] "Sign Manual," iv., 82.
[38] "Grant Book," 175.

tleman of the late Prince's bedchamber, and afterwards groom of the stole, desired to be in the bedchamber with Sir Robert Carey and Sir James Fullerton. "Among the grooms," he adds, "Sandilands[39] began the suit first, and had procured the King's grant for his present entrance into that charge; but this giving occasion to Gibb and Ramsay[40] to do the like, their importunity hath been a means to revoke and cross that which the other made sure reckoning to have before fully effected for himself.[41]

We are then informed, that on the 1st of July, Prince Charles was to commence keeping house at Richmond, where Sir Arthur Mainwaring, who had been one of the late Prince's carvers, and Sir Edward Verney, who had been one of his sewers, were likely to retain their old places, though they desired to be gentlemen of the privy-chamber. Several of Prince Henry's discharged servants were also to be reinstated. In another letter, dated 30th of this month, the same writer repeats, that the Prince was to begin housekeeping at Richmond on the following day. Sir David Murray and Sir Robert Carr, of Ancram, were to resume their former places as gentlemen of the bedchamber. Sir Robert Carey was to take the post of chamberlain—previously held by Sir Thomas Chaloner; and Mainwaring, Verney, and Sir Edward Lewis were appointed gentlemen of the

[39] To whom, as John Sandilands, Esq., Prince Henry had bestowed an annuity of 140*l.* in 1611.

[40] Henry Gibb and David Ramsay, Esqrs., had received the same pensions.

[41] "Court and Times of James I.," i., 246.

Prince's privy-chamber. Sir Edward had held the same appointment in the late Prince's household.

Richmond therefore soon resumed its former aspect, with the important difference, that Prince Charles, in the studies, exercises, sports, and games which had formerly proceeded with such earnestness and regularity, took the place of Prince Henry. Much to the credit of the former, he at once adopted his brother's tastes in many things, particularly in manly exercises; in consequence of which we are told—

"He grew so perfect in vaulting, riding the great horse, running at the ring, shooting in cross-bows, muskets, and sometimes in great pieces of ordnance, that if principality had been to be the reward of excellency in those arts, he would have had a title to the crown this way also—being thought the best marksman and most graceful manager of the great horse in the three Kingdoms."[42]

The large allowance which the late Prince received was, however, very much diminished, for the King's improvidence made it necessary that his Majesty should divert the lion's share of his son's lands and revenues to his own use. The judges were to be applied to; no opposition however was anticipated from them; and the consent of the Prince and the Prince's counsellors, it was expected, would be as easily obtained.[43] The young Prince carefully accommodated himself to his father's will in everything. The Bishop of Peterborough says, "Some thought he did this to avoid the jealousies of the

[42] White Kennet—"History of England," iii., 2.

[43] "Court and Times of James I.," i., 252.

old King, who had conceived some ill resentments of the popularity of Prince Henry, and would be the more kind and easy to Prince Charles if he saw less reason to suspect his ambition and forward humour."[44]

In July 15, Mr. Lorkin writes to Sir Thomas Puckering, then at Venice, that the King had signed the book of the Prince's household, and that many of the officers had been sworn in. Sir David Murray had been excluded, and was openly taxed at the Council-Table with having suggested to the late Prince "none of the best counsels." Some "of my Lord Rochester's creatures" received appointments; and Sir Robert D'Arcy, who had been one of the gentleman-ushers of the late Prince's privy-chamber, was left out as a "wrangler."[45] It appears as if a feeling existed, either in the breast of the Royal favourite or his patron, to exclude from the new household any one who had uttered incautious expressions of devotion to the late Prince; and that the former was desirous of having an influence in the present establishment at Richmond, which he had not been permitted in the last.

In December Prince Charles was present at the entertainments given in honour of the disgraceful second marriage of Lady Essex, whom the King had persuaded the bishops and judges to divorce. Miss Strickland says the Queen was not present; but a contemporary letter-writer, John Chamberlain, says she was, and presented silver dishes to the bride.[46] The King, the Prince, and

[44] "History of England," i., 2.

[45] "Court and Times of James I.," i., 256.

[46] Ibid., i., 285, 287.

the bridegroom ran at the ring; and there were masques, and every kind of extravagance, in which the King made himself discreditably conspicuous. In March of the following year the Prince accompanied his father to Cambridge, and lodged at Trinity College, where plays were acted to an audience of two thousand persons. Notwithstanding the dose of Cambridge dramatic talent that had lately been administered to him, he was obliged to receive a much larger one—the King being extremely partial to such exhibitions. This the gentlemen of the university seemed to be aware of, for they gave him a succession of Latin and English comedies, as well as a variety of disputations, with which his Majesty appears to have been equally gratified; yet, according to an eye-witness, they were not always commendable.[47]

On the 5th of April, the Prince accompanied his father in a state procession to Parliament, when the weather was striving to mar the spectacle. The household of his Royal Highness did not go on with the regularity and dignity with which its proceedings were characterised in the life of his lamented brother. There wanted his controlling hand to keep down jealousies within, and prevent intriguing from without. In May Sir Thomas Howard was made Master of the Prince's Horse, in place of Ramsay, who, dissatisfied at having been displaced, went abroad.[48] "There be

[47] For an account of these entertainments see letter of John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, March 16, 1614. "Court and Times of James I.," i., 303.

[48] Ibid., 314.

divers suits," writes Mr. Lorkin, towards the conclusion of the same month, "put now in for the great offices of the Prince's household; amongst the rest the Knights Vaughan and Trevor aim at the Treasurership and the Comptrollership, which it has wakened a little your brother Newton, who now begins likewise to look about for himself."[49] The fact was, the King was so easily persuaded to make changes at the instigation of the favourite, that few of the Prince's attendants could consider their positions secure. His Majesty, too, was in great want of money, and obtained assistance after a fashion not very creditable to an English sovereign. These "benevolences,"[50] some voluntary, some extorted, were among the King's least objectionable ways of supplying his pressing wants.

On the 29th of June, his Majesty removed to Richmond Palace, and no doubt created a great stir among the community there, from apprehensions of dismissal. He seems, however, to have chiefly occupied himself in devising ways and means for paying the salaries of such of his own servants as were most slenderly provided; and then proceeded on one of his progresses, whence he was summoned towards the end of July, by news of the sudden arrival of his brother-in-law, the King of Denmark. Christiern must have missed the gallant spirit whose naval predilections had won his heart on his previous visit.

There followed the usual course of hunting, hawking, bear-baiting, running at the ring, fencing, and fire-

[49] "Court and Times of James I.," 318. [50] Ibid., 328.

works, during his stay.[51] Prince Charles accompanied his father and his uncle, on the 1st of August, in a barge to Woolwich, and thence to Gravesend, where the three dined "at the sign of the Ship," according to a chronicler. After their tavern dinner, the Royal party went on board one of the ships that had brought the Danish sovereign to England, and then King James took leave of his brother-in-law. The following day Prince Charles rode with the King of Denmark to Rochester, to inspect "The Prince,"[52] with the dimensions of which the King was greatly pleased. They then returned to Gravesend, and went on board the Danish ship, when the Prince, after having taken leave of his uncle, returned to London the same evening. The King of Denmark set sail for his own dominions the following day;[53] but not without leaving behind evidences of his liberality. Among these, however, we do not find recorded any of his vessels of war—a vice-admiral being doubtless considered too costly a present to be left where it would not be appreciated.

The Prince very often accompanied the King. He was at Royston in October, where his Majesty was striving to maintain two favourites, a new one having appeared in the person of George Villiers, a handsome youth, who dressed well, and had consequently been much admired by the King. But the influence of the Earl of Rochester was not easily shaken, and he regarded

[51] "Court and Times of James I.," i., 341.
[52] Stowe's "Annales," 1012.
[53] Ibid.

his rival with great disdain. The Prince at first seems to have endeavoured to please both, or rather to gratify his father by not neglecting either; but in the following month his Majesty, while hunting at Newmarket, met with so severe a fall as must have made him for a time equally indifferent to their attractions. As soon as he recovered, the pretensions of the rivals came again under his notice, and in the festivities of the following Christmas were brought more prominently forward. The King seemed loth to disgrace one who had so long maintained his favour, and Somerset, by his conduct, appears to have considered his position unassailable. During this period the courtiers were, as may be imagined, not unobservant. Indeed, they watched the game that was going on before them, with daily increasing interest,[54] in which Prince Charles shared.

At this time Villiers began to be more openly noticed and favoured by the King. Towards the close of the year came the discovery of the secret poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower, that was soon afterwards followed by the King's abandonment of Somerset, the Earl's trial with his Countess, and their condemnation for this atrocious murder. In the course of the investigations, the poisoning of Prince Henry was openly talked of; but such conversation was rigorously suppressed and punished.[55] Villiers, who had been

[54] See the letter of Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, March 31, 1615.

[55] See Letter of Sir John Throckmorton to Mr. Turnbull, Dec. 7. 1615. "Court and Times of James I.," i., 382.

knighted at the instigation of the Queen,[56] was at this period treated with the most tender consideration: the French equerry of the late Prince, St. Antoine, was sent for by the King to teach him riding,[57] and in January 1617 he was created Earl of Buckingham, having previously been made a Baron and a Viscount.

There was a masque on Twelfth Night, 1616, when he danced with the Queen, and the next day the members of the Middle Temple entertained the new made peer with a banquet and another masque. Many similar compliments followed from individuals or communities eager to be early in the parasitical race; indeed, it is scarcely possible to describe the general degradation of society at this miserable period.

Queen Anne, who never could learn discretion or self-respect, carried on with him a correspondence of a very trifling character. In one of her epistles, which Miss Strickland has printed in *fac simile*,[58] the young man is addressed as her kind dog, whose particular office is to lug the sow by the ear, the said sow being her husband. It is not surprising that Prince Charles should follow the example of his parents in doing honour to Lord Buckingham: a fast friendship appeared to have arisen between them, and he was his Royal Highness's constant associate.

The persecution of the late Prince's devoted servants had not concluded; for, in a letter dated April 30,

[56] "Queens of England," v., 264.
[57] "Court and Times of James I.," i. 383.
[58] "Queens of England," v., 264.

1616, two of them—Sir Robert Carr, of Ancram, who had been one of the gentlemen of his privy-chamber, and Henry Gibbs, of his bedchamber, on whom he had settled an annuity of 140*l.*—were under restraint on a charge of having conveyed away and burnt their young master's papers and letters.[59] The former was placed in the custody of Sir James Fullerton, but was soon afterwards liberated.

The influence of Villiers may be understood from one or two incidents that occurred in the spring of this year. On the 14th of March, Edward Sherbourne, writing to Sir Dudley Carleton, states that "the Prince took a ring from Sir George Villiers' hand, and, putting it on his own, forgot it and lost it; on which Villiers complained to the King, who chided the Prince so severely as to bring him to tears, and forbade him the presence till the ring was restored." The writer adds his opinion that the King's boundless affection for Villiers cannot continue, as it wanted a sound foundation.[60] In the following month the favourite obtained the post of Lord-Deputy of Ireland for Sir Oliver St. John, and his power was then described as so great, "that what he will, shall be." In the same month the King boxed the Prince's ears for turning a water-spout upon Villiers in jest in the garden at Greenwich.[61]

The great event of this year, and which was preceded by vast preparations, was the creation of Prince

[59] "Court and Times of James I.," i., 401.
[60] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, lxxxvi.
[61] Ibid.

Charles as Prince of Wales. For months previously little was talked of at Court but the masques and other entertainments that were to be given on the occasion, and on the dignities that were to be conferred. In the Prince's household some important changes were anticipated, for which there was much intriguing. It seems that the Prince lent himself to a plan, probably set on foot by Lord Villiers, to prevent Sir Robert Carey obtaining the appointment of Chamberlain, to which he would by right succeed, to bestow it upon Lord Roxburgh; and not only did the Prince express his objections to Sir Robert holding that office, but the King was wrought upon to bestow it upon his rival. Sir Robert, however, who always managed to prosper when his case seemed the most desperate, hurried to the Queen, and contrived so to incense her Majesty against the parties who had arranged this affair for her son, without the slightest reference to her, that she presently raised a storm that upset the whole scheme, and sent Lord Roxburgh back to Scotland.[62]

The Prince's creation as Prince of Wales took place on the 4th of November, at Whitehall,[63] to which his Royal Highness proceeded in state by water from Richmond, as his brother had done. Chamberlain writes, that "the sharpness of the weather and the Prince's craziness [indisposition] did not permit any public show;" but in the same letter he says that "the King stood on the gallery stairs at Whitehall to

[62] Carey's "Memoirs," 214.

[63] The Patent, see "Rymer. Fœdera," xvi., 792, is so dated.

see the Prince come along from Richmond, attended by the Lord Mayor and all the companies of London in their barges, in very good order, and made a goodly show."[64] Another cotemporary chronicler says :—

"On Thursday, the last of October, 1616, All Saints' Eve, Prince Charles came in great state by barge from Barn Elms to Whitehall, accompanied and attended by divers great lords and others of honourable rank and quality, besides his own train, and was most joyfully met at Chelsea by the Lord Mayor, aldermen and citizens of London—each Company in a several barge, and distinguished by their several arms, in their rich banners and stately streamers, besides the royal sound of drum and trumpet, and great variety of excellent music ; besides all which, and the infinite number of people on the shore and in boats and barges, to behold this joyful day—there was also, at the City's charge, in honour of his Highness's creation more particular, pleasant trophies and ingenious devices—met him upon the water, than ever was at any former creation of any Prince of Wales."[65]

There is no doubt, therefore, that the preliminary proceedings of Prince Henry's creation were closely followed. Indeed, the repetition of the ceremony brought that lamented Prince so forcibly to mind, that the Bishop of Ely, in a sermon then preached to the Court, referred to him in a very impressive manner ;[66] and the Queen, much to her credit, absented herself

[64] "Court and Times of James I.," i., 435.
[65] Continuation of Stowe—"Annales," 1025.
[66] "Court and Times of James I.," i., 435.

entirely from the stately ceremonial and the undignified festivities that followed.[67] In addition to the customary conferring of honours, which comprised the creation of twenty-four knights of the Bath, two viscounts and a baron, exhibitions at the barriers, masques, banquets and plays were very general, and were not always decorously performed. In particular of the new knights of the Bath, when entertained at Draper's Hall by the Lord Mayor, "some were so rude and unmanly, and carried themselves so insolently divers ways, but specially in putting citizen's wives to the squeak, so far forth that one of the sheriffs broke open a door upon Sir Edward Sackville, which gave such scandal, that they went away without the banquet,

[67] To an eye-witness we are indebted for the following animated tableau:—"I came thither after the ceremonies of the inauguration were ended in the morning, but at dinner saw him in his coronet and robes; and the King, his father, looking out at a gallery upon him, accompanied with some ambassadors, and the Earl of Buckingham, his favourite, of whom afterwards I had a more perfect sight, by reason of his Majesty sent him down to his Highness while he sat at dinner, upon some complimentary message, between whom and the Prince there passed a little discourse, but intermixed with many mutual smiles, which I very exactly viewed standing very near the Prince's chair all the time. The Duke of Lennox, with divers other lords, sat at the same table with the Prince, a pretty distance from him, in their robes and with coronets on their heads: next him stood, bare-headed, in their cloaks, the Earl of Southampton, who supplied the place of his cup-bearer, and the Earl of Dorset, who performed the office of his carver during the continuance of that dinner. The Prince drank to the Knights of the Bath, who dined at a side table on the right hand, and the Duke of Lennox drank to the King."—*Diary of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, i., 91.

though it were ready prepared for them."[68] They next went to the Mitre Tavern, where they engaged in quarrels among themselves. Forty young gentlemen of the Inns of Court, who, according to a chronicler, fought at barriers, one-half against the other,[69] conducted themselves indifferently, 'but played the men at the banquet,' which caused the circulation of certain scurrilous facetiæ, that are described as 'absurdly immoderate and saucy.'"[70]

The Prince of Wales's establishment was again settled. Sir John Villiers, the elder brother of the favourite, was sworn of his Bedchamber, as well as Sir Robert Kerr, or Carr—the former being appointed Master of the Robes, the latter Keeper of the Privy-Purse; Sir James Fullerton became Groom of the Stole, and Mr. Murray Secretary.[71] Sir Robert Carey's eldest son was one of the new Knights of the Bath, and his youngest was sworn a Groom of the Prince's Bedchamber—Sir Robert obtaining the coveted post of Chamberlain, and Sir Henry Vane, Cofferer.[72] Sir Robert Douglas was appointed Treasurer.

On the 9th of November, William Becher, writing to Carleton, says, "The Prince's creation has passed over with no solemnity except a combat of barriers, performed by the Inns of Court. The courtiers did nothing, because the Prince was loth either to be left out or to

[68] Stowe's "Annales," 1026.
[69] "Court and Times of James I.," i., 437.
[70] Ibid., 441.
[71] "Memoirs of Robert Carey," 219.
[72] "Court and Times of James I.," i., 462.

take a part." He adds, "It is whispered that he is of a weak and crazy disposition."[73] The Prince had been suffering from indisposition, and would have benefited by a longer residence at Richmond than he was permitted. Towards the close of the year some notices of him occur of a more pleasing character. On the 18th of December, Thomas Murray writes to Sir Dudley Carleton that the Prince is pleased with the medals he had sent him, and desires to have the book explaining them; and on the 30th of the same month, the same writer tells the Ambassador that the Prince is grateful for the two books he has forwarded, and that he will favour his advancement.[74]

About this time Dr. George Carleton wrote to Sir Dudley his disappointment at not obtaining the Bishoprick of Carlisle, which the Prince would have procured for him had not the King been so importuned that he could not avoid otherwise disposing of it. He says that he is ashamed to tell the manner in which Bishoprics are got—he might have added, and many other things—and assures his correspondent that he is weary of the Court.[75] The reverend gentleman, however, thought it wisest to remain where he was, and take his chance in the scramble—not a very attractive one, if we are to believe a cotemporary writer (Sherburne), who, in a letter written early in December, dwells on the miserable cries of poor men and others

[73] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, lxxxix.
[74] Ibid.
[75] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, lxxxviii.

whose wages and pensions had not been paid for three years or more.[76] This, we believe, was as much the case at Richmond Palace as elsewhere. In the month of November of the following year, the Prince's Chaplain received a recompense for his patience in the Bishopric of Llandaff—"a poor bishopric," he says; "but the favours of princes are not to be rejected."[77]

The salaries received by the principal officers of the Prince's household were according to the following scale:—

	£	s.	d.
Chancellor	100	0	0
Secretary and Keeper of the Privy-Seal	66	13	4
Master of the Wards and Liveries	40	0	0
Master of the Horse	44	8	10
Auditor-General	100	0	0
Treasurer or Receiver-General	100	0	0
Surveyor-General	66	13	4
Master of the Prince's Game	20	0	0
Serjeant-at-Law	20	0	0
Attorney-General	50	0	0
Solicitor-General	30	0	0
Auditor of the Duchy of Cornwall	70	4	8
And his expenses	169	15	4
Auditor of the Wards	10	0	0
Clerk of the Council	30	0	0
High Steward of the Duchy of Cornwall	53	6	8
Steward of the Hundreds in Cornwall	6	13	4
Receiver-General of the said Duchy	41	0	0

[76] State Papers—James I.—Domestic,
[77] Ibid., xciv.

	£	s.	d.
Assay Master of the Tin there . . .	200	0	0
Comptroller of the Coins there . . .	10	0	0
Constable of Launceston Castle, in Cornwall .	13	6	8
Escheator of the Duchy	9	2	6
Messenger there	5	0	0
Bailiff-itinerant there	3	10	10
Attorney to the Prince in the Exchequer .	10	0	0
Searcher of the Rolls in the Tower . .	10	0	0

CHAPTER IV.

Marriage Negociations—Lord Hay at Richmond—The Prince and Buckingham—The Spanish Match—The Stolen Journey—The Prince's Return from Spain.

Another negociation for a marriage was commenced in the summer of the year 1616, when Lord James Hay was sent over to France to endeavour to arrange a match for the Prince with Christina, sister to Louis XIII.[78] There is a previous commission extant, giving authority to Sir Thomas Edmonds, then Ambassador to the Court, for the same purpose on behalf of Prince Henry, dated June 19th, 1614.[79] These negociations attracted the attention of the Court of Madrid, which regarded with no pleasureable feelings the close alliance of France and England; and the Prime Minister of

[78] The Commission is dated at Westminster, June 8, 1616. See "Rymer. Fœdera," xvi., 788.

[79] Ibid., 769.

Spain, the Dugue de Lerma, intimated to Sir John Digby, the English Ambassador at Madrid, that there was a Princess in the family of his master who would make a very desirable wife for the Prince of Wales. The hint was transmitted to James, who at once gave authority to Sir John Digby to act upon it, and Gondomar received from his Government instructions to amuse the King of England with the same project. Thus commenced a negociation that was protracted year after year; but such delays only appear to have made both the King and the Prince more eager for the marriage—notwithstanding that the idea of it was extremely unpopular with the nation generally.

It was not till January 10th, 1617, that Richmond was formally made over to the Prince, when it was granted to him by letters patent from the King—the property being vested in trustees—among whom was Sir Francis Bacon—for his use; and on the 19th of the following month, his Royal Highness received other letters patent, granting the Richmond estate to him and his heirs for ever. These grants included Ham House and the Petersham estate; and the Prince became much attached to the neighbourhood, and was almost as fond of hunting in its pleasant fields as his brother.

The year 1617 was spent by the Prince partly at Richmond Palace and partly in attendance on the King, whom, in February, he accompanied to the Star Chamber, when his Majesty went there to pronounce sentence. Towards the conclusion of the same month his Highness's tutor wrote to Carleton, directing him

to send back to England an absconded servant, James Bovey, then at the Hague, who is described as a good lutanist, dancer, and rider. The fugitive was promptly looked after, and returned to his Royal master about Midsummer.[80] The principal officers of the Prince's household were sworn in early in March; and Sir Robert Carr, gentleman of his bedchamber, received a grant of 300*l.* a-year.[81] The Prince continued to improve in personal appearance and disposition; for, in a letter dated April 25th, from Lord Danvers to Carleton, we learn that his "increased towardliness" was likely to make Spain anxious for an alliance.[82] In the summer he was certainly at Richmond with the Queen; for Soames Woodward, writing to Carleton, states that he waited on the Prince there, and delivered to her Majesty the clock he had forwarded for her.[83]

The Prince's entire subserviency to the King was never more thoroughly shown than in sharing in the latter's prejudice against Sir Walter Raleigh, who had at last obtained his liberation, rather from his Majesty's hopes of profiting by a gold mine, which his illustrious prisoner had discovered during one of his voyages in the late reign, than from any sense of justice. Sir Walter was busily engaged, undertaking his last maritime adventure, ignorant that his intentions had already been betrayed to the Spanish Government. "It is observed," writes John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley

[80] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, xc.
[81] "Sign Manual," vii., 32.
[82] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, xci.
[83] Ibid., xcii.

Carleton, on the 29th of March, "that the Prince is no friend to the journey, but hindered the Queen from going to see his ship, as she had appointed, on Wednesday last."[84] The result was anticipated. "God speed him!" is the exclamation of the same writer, in a subsequent communication, "and send him a better voyage than I ever hope for."[85]

Lord Hay, one of those fortunate Scotchmen who had profited by the King's favour, returned from Scotland, where he had been staying, and took up his residence in a little house in Richmond Park, in the month of July, 1617—not to be in attendance on the Prince of Wales, but "to be near Syon, where his fair mistress stays."[86] The lady of whom he was in pursuit was the daughter of the Earl of Northumberland, and that the lover profited by his residence at Richmond was soon made apparent. Early in November their marriage took place, the ceremony being attended by the King, the Prince, Buckingham, and many of the Court. On the authority of Sir Gerard Herbert, we are able to state that the King presented the bridegroom with 10,000*l.* for his wedding charges; and that at the banquet, which cost 1,000*l.*, the bride knelt when the King drank her health, and she afterwards drank his Majesty's. From another letter-writer we learn that Lady Elizabeth Hatton gave a feast, and that the King and Prince attended, during which the

[84] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 3.

[85] Ibid., 17.

[86] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, xci.

lady and her daughter, Lady Villiers, stood behind the King's chair. He knighted four of her friends, gave her half-a-dozen kisses at leaving, and was very merry.[87]

In the autumn the Prince of Wales was hunting with the King; for Thomas Wilson, writing on the 11th of October, to the constables of Sandon, Kelshall, and other places in Hertfordshire, announces the King's express commands that they give notice to occupiers of arable land not to plough in narrow ridges, nor suffer swine to go abroad unringed, and root holes, to the endangering of his Majesty and the Prince when hawking and hunting; they are also commanded to take down the boundaries between lands, that hinder his Majesty's ready passage when riding.[88] The Prince was at Theobalds on the 30th of October.

Dr. Charles Hakewell, one of his chaplains, wrote a dissertation against the marriage of the Prince with the Infanta of Spain, which he showed first to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was much pleased with it; to Mr. Murray, Prince Charles's tutor, who dissuaded him from showing it to the Prince; and, finally, to the Prince, first saying to him, "Sir, I beseech you make use of this, by reading it yourself; but if you show it to your father, I shall be undone for my good will." The Prince, thanking him courteously, assured him no one else should know of it. Then, having inquired who had already seen it, he placed it in the hands of

[87] State Papers—Domestic—James I., vol. xciv.
[88] Ibid. xciii.

the King, and at once the author and his friends were banished the Court.[89] Another authority states that they were sent to prison.[90]

The Prince of Wales was now more than ever put forward as an aspirant for matrimony with a daughter of one of the great European monarchies. In the spring of 1618 it is stated that the Court ladies were beginning to adopt the Catholic religion, in expectation of the Spanish match;[91] and, as more money was wanted for the Prince of Wales's increasing expenditure at Richmond and elsewhere, a warrant, dated July 29th, was issued for 2,200*l.*, for his use, out of a Star Chamber fine of 20,000*l.* imposed on the Countess Dowager of Shrewsbury.[92] He was learning extravagance rapidly; for the King continued squandering, though his exchequer was obliged to be replenished by arbitrary fines and the sales of official employments. The Prince was often glad to return to Richmond, where he found himself more at liberty than with his father, by whom he was "too much restrained in his sports and pleasures."[93]

There is little to record of the Prince worthy of comment till the King's return from Scotland, when his Royal Highness hunted *the wild boar* at Windsor

[89] Weldon's "Court and Character of King James," 217. London, 1651. He, by mistake, calls Dr. Hakewell Archdeacon of Surrey.

[90] Wood's "Athen. Oxon.," i., 124.

[91] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, xcvi.

[92] "Sign Manual," ix., 60.

[93] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, cix.

with his Majesty in September, according to a letter from the late Prince's secretary to Sir Thomas Puckering,[94] and on Michaelmas day was present at Hampton Court, at the marriage of the favourite's elder brother John, to Frances, youngest daughter of the disgraced Sir Edward Coke. The latter had by this sacrifice contrived to mollify his Royal master, who gave away the bride. There was much display on the occasion; for the young lady was a heiress, and her fortune made her regarded as a prize in the scramble constantly going on at Court for money or money's worth.

There is a curious letter extant from the Prince to the favourite, indicating the closeness of the intimacy that existed between them at this period; for "Steenie" is evidently the confidant of an intrigue which had drawn upon the writer the King's displeasure.[95] In another communication, written by the Prince at the King's dictation, he avers at the conclusion—"I can enjoy nothing rightly while you be not here."[96]

Attempts had been made to divert the King's attachment, by bringing forward other handsome and well-dressed young men; but though the recommendations of the aspirants for royal favour were considered to be irresistible, Buckingham's authority was not in the slightest degree shaken. His power now rendered him insolent, and he outraged the feelings of his patient companion, Prince Charles, whom he grossly

[94] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 36.

[95] Halliwell's "Letters of the Kings of England," ii., 148.

[96] Ibid., 155.

insulted on one occasion at Royston. In a struggle to get possession of a weapon each desired, at Greenwich, before a large assembly, he swore—"By G——, it shall not be so—you shall not have it!" lifting his hand over his head with a ballon-brasser. The Prince only replied, "What, my lord, I think you intend to strike me!"[97] The King, however, was so infatuated, that he made his son pass over these insults, and insisted on a reconciliation. Buckingham gave a grand masque to the King and the Prince of Wales, which, in honour of this event, was called "the friends' feast." All the members of his fortunate family were also present, and his Majesty exceeded his former absurdities in the attentions he paid them, and the professions he made of his intention to advance them above all others. While he was lavishing honours and rewards in this direction, a niggardly economy was maintained in the legitimate expenses of the State. The eight ships of war hitherto kept at sea were reduced to four, and the pay of ambassadors was generally insufficient, or in arrear.[98]

Sir Walter Raleigh had returned unsuccessful from his voyage, and the King, disappointed of the treasure he had looked for, sent him again to the Tower, at the instigation of the Spanish ambassador. As is well known, he was soon afterwards beheaded.[99]

[97] "Secret History of all the Kings and Queens of England." By a Person of Honour. 1702, p. 373.

[98] Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, June 30, 1618.

[99] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 78.

In the summer of this year the Prince was engaged in negotiating an arrangement respecting Kenilworth;[1] and in the following month we learn from the same authority that his Royal Highness was about leaving London for Richmond, whence, after a stay of four or five days, he was to begin a little progress by himself to Chertsey, Bagshot, Windsor, and subsequently was to meet the King.[2] In the autumn he proved himself still more subservient to the King in his partiality for Buckingham, by surrendering to the latter the profits of an important office, the Admiralty, which had been granted him. At the beginning of December there was an occurrence, in which his Royal Highness was in a measure concerned, that curiously illustrates the existing state of society. Some Holborn bailiffs following a gentleman with the intention of effecting an arrest, he took refuge in the Prince's town mansion, where they pursued him. This indignity was not to be endured, and the Prince's attendants soon made the catchpoles suffer for their intrusion, ejecting them with very little ceremony. The affair did not end here. Sir John Vaughan, Comptroller to his Royal Highness, having occasion to visit Holborn, the bailiffs, in retaliation, assaulted him in his coach, hamstrung his horses, and would have seriously injured him, had not some Welch apprentices came to the rescue, who, considering themselves called upon to defend their Prince, assaulted in

[1] Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, June 30.

[2] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 83; Ibid., 103.

the person of his officer, soon overpowered his assailants, and triumphantly carried them off to prison.[3]

In the January following the customary entertainments at Whitehall were stopped, while in course of preparation, in consequence of a fire that destroyed a considerable portion of the palace, with valuables of various kinds, and many interesting records. In February the Prince prepared to exhibit himself in a tilting match; and in the same month we meet with the first recorded notice of his taking any share in public business. He granted an audience to the Venetian ambassador, with whom he held a conversation on the warlike preparations of Spain.[4] On the 2nd of March Queen Anne died at Hampton Court, after a long illness, charging the Prince, who had been summoned to attend her last moments, to pay her debts and reward her servants, and verbally bestowing upon him all that she was possessed of, estimated at 600,000*l.* But we are told that the King, who was himself suffering from severe indisposition, would not hear of such an arrangement, and intended to seize everything for his own use.[5] This disposition of the Queen's valuables appears to have made the King very angry with his son, as may be seen by a letter from Prince Charles to the favourite,[6] wherein he asserts that he had been directed by the King to

[3] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 114.

[4] Ibid., 133.

[5] Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, March 16.

[6] MS. Harl., 6986. Halliwell's "Letters of the Kings of England," ii., 122.

persuade his dying mother to make over her property in this manner. If the Prince had imagined that he was to profit by the transfer, he was quickly undeceived.

At the funeral, the Prince and all his servants attended. It had been deferred till the 13th of May, in consequence of want of funds to defray the expenses. The reconciliation of his Royal Highness and Buckingham appears to have been complete, for at the suit of the Prince the King granted to his favourite an estate of 1200*l.* a-year that had belonged to the late Queen; and Buckingham, in return, persuaded the King to make an addition of 5000*l.* a-year to the Prince's allowance.[7] He also granted Denmark House to the Prince. Soon after the Queen's death, the King caused all her valuables to be sent to him, and, after a careful inspection, bestowed a handsome portion on Buckingham. He was disappointed that not more than 63,000*l.* worth of jewels was forthcoming, and sent two of her attendants to prison because they would give no account of what was missing. He, however, honoured her remains with a funeral that cost 24,000*l.*—9,000*l.* more than that of Prince Henry, and 6,000*l.* more than that of Queen Elizabeth.[8]

After this it is stated that the Prince and Buckingham became very friendly.[9] About this time the King

[7] State Papers, May 5.

[8] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 117.

[9] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, civ.

had a serious attack of indisposition, when he settled his affairs, and spoke with more than his usual gravity, recommending Buckingham to the Prince. His Majesty, however, recovered, and, attended by the Prince, made a triumphal entry into his metropolis. The King appeared "very fresh, in a suit of watchet satin, laid with silver lace, with a blue and white feather, as also his horse was furnished with the like both before and behind," more, as the writer adds, like a wooer than a mourner.[10] Subsequently the Prince accompanied the King in his progress, and returned to Whitehall in July, but the expense had to be defrayed by a sale of a portion of the late Queen's jewels, which passed to Peter Van Lere for 18,000*l*.[11]

During the visits of the favourite to the county of Surrey, he seems to have taken such a particular fancy to the neighbourhood of Croydon, as to desire to possess there an estate known as Bedinfield, belonging to Sir Nicholas Carew; and the Prince was urged by him to persuade the owner to part with it; but his Royal Highness did not succeed in his mission.[12]

Masquings and similar entertainments at Court went on as merrily as ever. In February, 1619-20, we find that the Prince had gone "a-shroving" with the King and all the Court to Sir John Crofton's near Bury, where the usual amusements were anticipated,[13]

[10] John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, June 5.

[11] Ibid., July 15.

[12] "Court and Times of James I.," ii. 1981.

[13] Shroving was a kind of revelling, as a farewell to customary

which appear to have been varied with the occurrence of duels. One that took place at this time was between Sir Robert Kerr and Charles Maxwell, both in the Prince's service. The latter prided himself on having killed his man on two previous occasions—notwithstanding which, he was left dead on the field. The only remarkable feature in this case is, that both combatants were Scotchmen. The Prince entreated the King on behalf of the survivor, who, by a coroner's inquest, was found guilty of manslaughter; and his Majesty, finding that Kerr had taken up the quarrel in defence of his favourite, pardoned him, and permitted him to return to his employments.[14]

On the 8th of January, 1621, an entry in one of the cotemporary diaries states:—

"In the afternoon I went to the tilt-yard, over against Whitehall, where four couples ran to show the before-mentioned French ambassador, Caduet, and divers French lords that came with him, that martial pastime. Prince Charles himself ran first, with Richard Buckhurst, Earl of Dorset, and brake their staves very successfully. The next couple that ran were *the beloved* Marquis of Buckingham, and Philip Lord Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, younger brother to Philip Lord Herbert, Earl of Pembroke: but had very bad success in all the courses they made. Marquis Huntly, a Scotchman, and the King's near kinsman, with Sir Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, performed their courses almost as gal-

enjoyments, previous to Lent. The sports then indulged in are described by Strutt.

[14] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 199, 203.

lantly as the Prince and Earl of Dorset; but the last couple did worst of all, not breaking a staff."[15]

The Prince had evidently profited by his martial exercises at Richmond, but the panegyrics of the courtiers were too extravagant to bear scrutiny.

We now learn that "the Prince, with a fair retinue and his guard, went on foot," just after the opening of Parliament in February, "through King Street and Westminster Hall, to the House of Peers," meaning, he says, "to sit often there with the Lords."[16] In a subsequent letter from Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, the Prince is reported to have taken part in the proceedings of the Upper House, on behalf of the Catholics. The Peers, however, chose to forward a petition to the King on the dangers that were threatened by the favour shown the Papists; and his Majesty sent the Prince to them, as he refused to receive it. They stoutly stood up for their privileges. The King strove to cajole them, and failed, and then threatened, with a like result—they were quite intractable.[17] His Majesty's subserviency to the Court of Spain, as seen in these and other proceedings, created general discontent; and the King, though he absolutely caused a poor crazy fellow to be hanged at Winchester for expressing his dissatisfaction,[18] found he could not deal quite so summarily with the Peers of England, and he thought it

[15] "Life of Sir Simonds d'Ewes," i., 166.
[16] John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton.
[17] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 229.
[18] Ibid., 233.

best to temporise. The Prince was placed on a committee composed of twenty-four Lords, and forty-eight of the Commons, to enquire into and stop all abuses.

Apparently he took the popular side in this struggle; for Dr. Meddus, writing to Joseph Mead, on the 16th of March, says:—"Yesterday, I hear, the Prince told Sir Edward Coke that he had done good service unto the King and State; and one stepped up wishing all might give him public thanks for it, which they did."[19] A better feeling began to prevail in both houses, and the King made them several gracious speeches. It is very much to be regretted that there should have been so little sincerity in them. After one that had been addressed them of more than usual suavity, the Lords, selecting the Prince as their speaker, sent him an address of thanks.

"So they went into the Presence-Chamber," states a cotemporary letter-writer, "the Prince supported by the two Archbishops. When the King was come forth unto them, the Prince said that he was commanded by the Lords of the Upper House of Parliament, there present, to render their most humble thanks unto his Majesty for his most gracious favour expressed that day unto them, and in lieu thereof to present most humbly *their bodies*, *their lives*, and *their whole estates*, to be at his service. This done, the King having awhile laughed well, said,—"Your speaker has troubled me with so much Greek and Hebrew that I cannot understand

[19] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 238.

him. But whether you have bribed him or no, I am sure your affections have bribed me, as that I shall ever love you." [20]

According to a contemporary :—

"March 26.—The King, Prince, and a great part of the nobility came to Paul's, in London, to hear a sermon, and see the ruins of that church; to the repairing whereof his Majesty hath promised to be a Royal benefactor. At this time there was in London an extraordinary ambassador from Spain, to treat about the marriage, as some say, betwixt the two kings, which is since reported to be broken off; the Prince standing upon it that he will treat of a match for himself." [21]

In the same month the Prince gave a ball and banquet at his new town residence, Denmark House, the cost of which he lost in a wager at tennis with Buckingham. The chronicler of this entertainment states, that many mistresses and valentines were there—a custom grown into request lately.[22] In the same month there was a tilting match, in the course of which the Prince accidentally wounded Lord Montgomery, and much distinguished himself by his skill.

In the summer of this year M. du Buisson arrived in England with letters from the Prince de Condé, proposing a French Princess for the Prince of Wales.[23]

[20] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 243.
[21] MS. Diary of William Whiteway, Brit. Mus. Bib. Eg., 784.
[22] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, cxiii.
[23] Ibid., cxvi.

The King appears to have been more anxious for the Spanish match, so the negotiation did not proceed very briskly. The Prince, however, was daily coming more before the public eye, and seemed desirous of taking a prominent part in the business of the State.

The projected match with Spain was much talked of in the autumn. It was openly spoken of in the House of Commons, at which the Prince took umbrage. In December his Highness was formally enrolled a member of the Privy-Council, and took his place at the board.[24] He was subsequently made President.

The King made another speech to Parliament, which met with no less success; the Prince was again selected by that assembly to carry their thanks; and, once more led by the Archbishops, with a select company of Bishops and noblemen, he "performed his message with tears from abundance of joy, telling his Majesty that what affection would not suffer the House to do in his presence they had commanded him now to do in all their names.[25] After this all went "merry as a marriage-bell," for a time; and the King resumed his masques and progresses with a better exchequer; but on the next meeting of Parliament the House of Commons became again eloquent with discontent, and committals to the Tower grew frequent. The Prince was no longer employed to express the gratitude of either Peers or Commons, nor does his Royal Highness again come forward in public affairs.

[24] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, cxxviii.

[25] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 243.

In February, 1621-2, the Prince lost the services of Sir Robert Carey, who was created Baron of Leppington, and Sir Thomas Savage took his place in the household.[26] The same frivolous amusements continued, and the only affair of public interest in which the name of the Prince is mentioned is his contemplated marriage. The King had not been satisfied with the proofs the Royal family of Spain had already afforded of its indifference to the advantages of an alliance with his own; and in various ways, which would never have been adopted by his predecessor, sought to establish a more favourable feeling in the Spanish Court, with the object of bringing about a union between the Prince of Wales and the Infanta. This idea was encouraged; the proposed match again began to be talked and written about, and the Prince was cajoled into fancying himself a favoured suitor. In the spring of 1622 tilting and masques were in preparation; but in consequence of the King having a fit of the gout, they were deferred till his Majesty's recovery:—

"The Prince," says a letter-writer, on the 27th of April, "is nothing pleased with these delays, if it could be remedied; the rather, for that now he twice or thrice had all readiness, and, as was said, was desirous to make show of the favour of a feather he had from his Spanish mistress."[27]

Changes were constantly taking place in the Prince's establishment. Christopher Villiers, the younger brother of the favourite, surrendered his place, in consequence

[26] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 245.

[27] Ibid., ii., 308.

of having been created a Viscount; indeed, all the family had obtained honours and substantial gifts in profusion. The Prince took umbrage at a gratuitous piece of insolence which the Countess of Buckingham, the favourite's mother, ventured to perpetrate. It is so characteristic of the state of the English Court at this period, that we quote the incident as described in a letter, dated June 8, from Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville:—

"When the Emperor's ambassador was departing, the King, meaning to bestow some jewel upon him, caused one to be fetched. A chain of Queen Anne's, of 3000*l.* value, was brought him; but refusing to bestow it, being a woman's chain, and of that value, upon him, and saying, wherein had he deserved so much at his hands? another of lesser worth was brought, and pleased him. Then some question being made, what shall be done with the chain, the Prince told his Majesty that neither of them both had yet bestowed anything upon the Duchess of Lenox since she was married. If his Majesty would dispose of it in that way, himself would be the carrier, to present it in his Majesty's name; and so should they have both thanks. The King assented, the Prince carried it, and put it about her neck, which was taken by all for an extraordinary and unusual honour done unto her. Which so grieved the Countess, that such an honour should be done unto any but herself, and that a thing of that value and quality should miss her hands, that the next day she took upon her, in the King's name, to send for the chain again, pretending some use thereof; and that it should be requited with as good a thing. The messenger, who went in the King's name, and not in hers, being

sounded by the amazed Duchess, at last confessed he was sent by the Countess, who had it from his Majesty; whereupon the Duchess bade him tell the Countess that she would not so much dishonour the Prince who brought it, to suffer it to be carried back by any hand but his, or her own; for if his Majesty would have it, she would carry it herself—which the next day she performed, desiring to know wherein she had offended his Majesty. The King, understanding the business, swore he was abused; and the Prince told him that he took it for so great an affront on her part, that he would leave the Court if she staid in it; with no small expression of indignation." [29]

This exposure of the camarilla did not affect their position—the greedy old lady kept her ground, till the public clamour raised against her as a convert to Popery obliged the King to send her away.

For some years past an active conservancy of the Thames had been going on, with the intention of preserving the fish, which were abundant, and of improving the river.[30] An object no less important was now in course of being accomplished, which was the conveyance of a sufficient supply of pure water to the metropolis. This scheme, well known as that of Sir Hugh Middleton, the King encouraged with a grant of 2000*l.* per annum, for a certain term; and the Prince contributed 500*l.* per annum, and many of the nobility less sums.[31] We should have been glad to have met with a few more such notices, instead of the feastings, masquings, and

[29] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 313.
[30] Stowe's "Annales."
[31] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 316.

progresses that so frequently occurred. The favourite had lately purchased of the Earl of Sussex New Hall in Essex, and the King and Court were there in the autumn, enjoying themselves in the usual way. In October we learn that the Lords of the Council sat often, and the Prince with them; and it is reported that his Royal Highness is urgent that assistance should be sent to his brother-in-law, the Prince Palatine, whom the King had left to be overwhelmed by his enemies, offering himself to lead a force to succour that unfortunate Prince.[32] James, however, was too intent upon the Spanish match to do anything in opposition to Spanish policy, and the chivalrous proposition, if really made, was soon ignored.

Things went on, in the meantime, at Richmond in so quiet a way, that nothing seems to have attracted attention beyond changes in the Prince's household, or quarrels among the attendants. Towards the latter end of October, his Royal Highness received a new secretary in the person of Francis Cottington, who had lately returned from Spain; and was evidently placed on the Prince's establishment for a particular purpose.

The evils which afflicted the country so forcibly impressed the minds of some religious enthusiasts, that more than one risked imprisonment and death in publicly denouncing them, or privately warning the King of an avenging judgment; but James was not going to stop in his course for any one, and carried everything with a high hand. The author of a pamphlet

[32] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 342, 344.

called "Balaam's Ass" was hanged, drawn, and quartered; and a gentlemanlike fellow, who had exercised some command in the wars, ventured to announce to his Majesty in Theobalds Park the following prophecy:—"Thus saith the Lord, have I not brought thee out of a land of famine and danger, into a land of plenty and abundance?—oughtest thou not therefore to have judged thy people with righteous judgment? But thou hast perverted justice, and not relieved the oppressed. Therefore, unless thou repent, God hath sent the kingdoms from thee, and thy posterity after thee."[33] The prophet was forthwith sent to Bedlam, where he remained, notwithstanding that he had been secretary to Lord Willoughby, and no one could observe in his ordinary demeanour and conversation the slightest trace of insanity.

James went on with his hunting, gaining strength for his weak limbs from a remedy worthy of such a sportsman.[34]

The taste which Prince Charles appears to have received with the works of Art his brother had collected at Richmond, had of late years greatly expanded; and he took so much interest in artistic pursuits, that the King, in the summer of 1622, probably at his suggestion, proposed to establish, under the Prince's auspices, an institution for the encouragement of artists, and for the cultivation of Art.[35]

[33] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 156.

[34] "His legs and feet come pretty well to him, having found out a very good expedient of late, to bathe them in every buck and stag's belly in the place where he kills them."—*Ibid.*, 176.

[35] State Papers—James I.—Domestic, cxxxi.

Another object in which Prince Henry had taken a profound interest, he also endeavoured to forward—this was the discovery of the North-west Passage, that had been frequently debated by the naval council at Richmond; and one of the last acts of James was a communication to the Duke of Buckingham, authorizing him to take the pinnace, called "The Lion's Whelp," to be employed in the said discovery.

In January, 1622-3, Chamberlain states, "there was nothing to write of but dancing and feasting." There was, however, one other subject, and this was the reported conversion to Popery of the King and the Prince, which had recently attracted so much attention that his Royal Highness found it expedient to dismiss some of his musicians for assisting at the celebration of mass at the house of the Spanish ambassador; but it is added that, at the request of the ambassador, the Prince took them again into his service.[36]

The Prince, notwithstanding his alleged quarrel with the old Countess of Buckingham, was continually in the family circle, going in a round, as is stated, from one place to another, "like fiddlers all in one company." The favourite and his Royal Highness, in fact, were more than ever in each other's confidence.

Lord Digby was now sent into Spain to negociate the Prince's marriage; and his Royal Highness is represented as being so eager in the matter, that he gave him a commission, subscribed by his own hand, to consummate the marriage.[37] The idea was far from being

[36] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 301.

[37] Ibid., 356.

well entertained in England, and several remonstrances appeared in print;[38] but the Spanish Court encouraged it, and some publications appeared that favoured the long-entertained object of bringing England back to Popery.

"I saw a book," writes Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, "of the marriage of our Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta Maria, which I took at first to be an Epithalamium. The frontispiece was cut in a large 4to, with many devices, and at the bottom the Prince and lady in their robes, and, Christ like a parson, joining their hands, and marrying them. The dedication was to Count Gondomar, a whole leaf and a half spent in his titles. The author wrote himself Michael de Val."[39]

Although particularly eloquent on the advantages of the union to England, the book made so few converts among the English people, that the sale was prohibited and the translation stopped. In August the Spanish ambassador was feasted at Windsor, when three healths were drank at the banquet—the King of Spain, the Infanta at Brussels, and the Infanta Maria—which, we are informed, "the Prince pledged with much ceremony." Afterwards, according to the same authority, "he and the Marquis of Buckingham went every evening into the water near to Eton, where the best

[38] Particularly in the shape of sermons. More than one clergyman was punished for preaching against the Spanish match. Mr. Clayton, of Fulham, was imprisoned; Dr. White, a Prebendary of St. Paul's, commanded to keep his house; and the King issued an order against preachers and preaching.

[39] "Court and Times of James I."

swimming is; but so attended with choice company, and a boat or two, that there could be no danger." As the provost of Eton College, recently elected, was Thomas Murray, his Royal Highness's tutor and secretary, a banquet in honour of his Royal pupil and patron might have been anticipated. The college was extremely brilliant; for at that Sunday night supper the favourite, his lady, and nearly all the Court at Windsor, were entertained.[40]

It is not improbable that in the retirement the Prince and his friend could enjoy at Richmond, was planned that extravagant adventure, in which both engaged, with the connivance of the King and Gondomar, early in the year 1623. The only other persons admitted into their confidence were Cottington, lately placed in the Prince's establishment by Buckingham, obviously to be employed in this service; Sir Richard Graham, another of his agents; and Endymion Porter, a courtier, whose name, subsequently, often appears in the Court history of the time. Porter and Cottington were sent to Dover to procure a vessel, ready at a moment's notice, to sail for the French coast; while the Prince of Wales and Buckingham, disguised, and bearing the travelling names of Tom and Jack Smith, stole away, attended only by Graham, through Kent, to the port just mentioned. A gold piece, imprudently flung to a ferryman at Gravesend, excited so much suspicion respecting them, that they were pursued and overtaken at Canterbury, where they were brought before the

[40] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 325.

mayor. This functionary was overwhelmed with astonishment when one of the prisoners, drawing him on one side, took off his great periwig, disclosed the countenance of the heir-apparent, and assured him that his companion, the Lord High Admiral, and himself, were merely enjoying a harmless frolic on their way to inspect the fleet. They were at once permitted to depart (to the great mystification of their captors) no doubt heartily laughing at the ruse they had so successfully played upon the simple-witted magistrate, reached Dover without further adventure, and were shortly landed at Boulogne.

It is impossible to describe the surprise which filled the public mind when the flight of the fugitives was discovered, or the consternation that succeeded when the object of this stolen journey became known. The news-letters of the time are full of conjectures and apprehensions. The King made the most fallacious representations to the Privy-council of this proceeding, for the purpose of screening Buckingham; but did not succeed in allaying the alarm it had excited. Arrangements were immediately made that the heir-apparent of England should travel with a proper retinue, and with this object the Privy-council engaged so vast a number of persons, that an invasion might have been considered the cause of their employment, rather than a treaty of marriage. Against the Spanish alliance several pamphlets were written; and the national hostility, which had been excited by the visit of the invincible Armada, appeared to be breaking out afresh.

This Quixotic expedition of the Prince has been so often described, that no further details of it can be necessary here.

Nothing could exceed the hearty manifestations of joy with which the Royal fugitive was received on his return in October.[41]

It is amusing to notice, in the cotemporary letters, how completely the King pretended to lend himself to the delusion that his son would bring a wife home with him, in the person of this Spanish Princess, when he had sent instructions to the Prince to come away without her. He went so far as to cause preparations to be made for lodging the lady and her train on their landing in England, and for entertaining her with masques and other amusements; and laid his commands on all his principal servants to show her the greatest possible respect and attention.

Ben Jonson wrote a masque to celebrate the return of the Prince and his companion. It was called "Neptune's Triumph." The Prince is personified as Prince Albion, and Buckingham figures in it as Hippius, his Master of the Horse. An island is sent by Neptune to bring them to the palace of Oceanus; they land—and

[41] "I have not heard of more demonstrations of public joy," writes Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, "than were here and everywhere, from the highest to the lowest—such spreading of tables in the streets with all manner of provisions—setting out whole hogsheads of wine and butts of sack, but specially such numbers of bonfires—both here and all along as he went, the marks whereof we found by the way two days afterwards—is almost incredible."

from a fleet of ships seen in the distance is supposed to come a company of sailors, as an antemasque, shouting, "Come away, boys, the town is ours; hey for Neptune and our young master!" There was also an antemasque of dancers, in the shape of viands, to denote the hospitality which welcomed them home, among whom two dwarfs as partridges were much applauded.

The Duke of Buckingham made an explanation to Parliament of the late proceedings in Spain.[42] Though it was as far as possible from the truth, the Prince, standing by him, confirmed his statements; after which the round of feastings and masquings began again more prodigally than ever—on one occasion, when entertaining the King and Prince, the Duke presenting his guests with 3,000 dishes of meat.[43]

On the meeting of Parliament in February, 1623-4, the King found himself obliged to acknowledge that he had been duped by Spain; this, however, was rather favourably received than otherwise. The Prince, too, gained a great access of popularity—partly, perhaps, in consequence of exhibiting indifference when a great present was sent him out of Spain—one significant portion of which consisted of forty-eight *gammons* of bacon.

"He never misses a day," it is added, "at the Parliament; and is so careful to have all things go well, that if any good fall we shall owe it to his care and solicitation, and to the general goodwill and approbation of his virtuous disposition; as being noted free from any vicious or scandalous inclination,

[42] "Rymer. Fœdera," xvii., 552.
[43] "Court and Times," ii., 435.

which makes him every day more gracious, and his actions to seem more graceful than was at first expected; and, in truth, his journey into Spain hath improved him so much, that it is a received opinion he concealed himself before."[44]

The negociation with Spain had scarcely been broken off, before another was entered into with France, having a similar object. A commission was granted to Hay, now Earl of Carlisle, and Henry Rich, Lord Kensington, to treat for a perpetual peace between the two countries. This is dated May 11, 1624;[45] and on the same day another was granted to the same persons to negociate a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Henriette, sister to Louis XIII. Such proceedings naturally increased the ill-feeling in Spain, which had been created by the conduct of the King of England in breaking off the long-pending alliance, and war was soon afterwards declared.

The Prince, however, no doubt through the influence of the favourite, obtained an additional pension of 2,000*l.* a-year;[46] indeed, authority appears to have been so completely invested in Buckingham, that sinister designs against his patron, for the advantage of his pupil, began to be attributed to him; and, shortly afterwards, were brought under the King's observation, in a manner that apparently caused him great uneasiness—indeed, if certain writers are to be trusted, caused him to look on his "sweet Steenie" with distrust.

[44] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 453.
[45] "Rymer. Fædera," xvii., 599.
[46] Ibid., 618.

Some very extraordinary revulsion of feeling must have taken place in James, if we are to believe the statements put forth by some writers respecting a secret interview with the Spanish ambassador, in which an alleged conspiracy of his son and favourite to keep him in bondage was made clear to his understanding. The letters, however, written by him to the Duke after his return from Spain exceed their predecessors in extravagance. Buckingham is addressed as "His only dear and sweet child," in a communication in which he says, that in consequence of being absent from him he does nothing but weep and mourn; then comes the usual appeal to the Deity, while protesting that he rode a great way in the park without speaking to any body, "and the tears trickling down my cheeks, as they now do, that I can scarcely see to write." After much more of this, he adds, "as it proceeds from love, so it cannot but end in love." Then he calls him "sweetheart;" appeals again to the Deity, and implores blessings on him and all his family, and subscribes himself his "dear dad and Christian gossip."[47] Another letter, written in 1624, after an address in the same terms as the last, begins, "Blessing, blessing, blessing on thy heart roots, and all thine." Twice in half-a-dozen lines the writer asks God to bless him and his; and in a postscript desires the Deity to send them a comfortable meeting.[48]

The King exhibited no characteristic more offensive

[47] Lansdowne MS., 1236, f. 63; Halliwell's "Letters of Kings of England," ii., 232.

[48] Harl. MS., No. 6011, p. 31; Halliwell's "Letters of Kings of England," ii., 235.

to a Christian mind than his abuse of the name of his Creator, in conversation as well as in writing. He made the most earnest appeals, and the most solemn asseverations, without apparently having the slightest idea of the obligation he was incurring, or the sin he committed.

With regard to the private conference stated to have taken place between him and the Marquis Inoiosa, or rather his messenger, the Spanish Jesuit, Macestria, in which the designs of the Duke and Prince against the King's liberty and life were first revealed to him,[49] if James's suspicions were excited, they appear to have been very quickly allayed—for, on their next interview, the King merely exclaimed, "Ah, Steenie, Steenie! wilt thou kill me!" The asseverations of the favourite, backed by those of his son, and supported by the evidence of such courtiers as the King considered might be privy to their designs, satisfied James that the accusation was a Spanish revenge, and he insisted on having the ambassador recalled. After this Buckingham seemed in greater favour, if possible, than before. The liberties he was permitted to take with his sovereign may be seen in his correspondence. In one letter he ends, "So craving your blessing, I kiss your dirty hands."[50] In general, however, he mingles devotion with humility; subscribing himself in one instance, "your beloved servant," but usually "your

[49] Arthur Wilson makes the statement on the authority of Bishop Hacket, the biographer of Archbishop Williams.—Kennett's *History of England*. ii., 782

[50] Halliwell's "Letters," ii., 254.

Majesty's most humble slave and dog." Still it is easy to see that Buckingham could sometimes venture to follow his own inclinations, and stay away from his doting patron, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of the latter for his society. His excuses were sure to be well received. With such unbounded influence over the sovereign, it is easy to imagine what his position was with the heir-apparent.

D'Ewes states, that on the 2nd of September, 1624, the Prince and his companions were hunting the stag near his brother's house. "The Prince, posting after it, was leaping on horseback over a most dangerous hedge and ditch, but that my brother Elliott gave him seasonable warning of it, and persuaded him to alight."[51] This escape, however, did not produce much effect; and in the following month we are told, "The Prince is not yet recovered of his fall, but that those that see him, and mark him, suspect some secret bruise."[52]

In the month of March, 1624-5, some startling incidents occurred in the Prince's household. Sir Humphrey Tufton, Bart., of the Moat, near Maidstone, had a quarrel with Murray, of the Prince's bed-chamber, brother of the Provost of Eton,[53] respecting some theatrical performance, and they agreed to meet at St. George's Fields to fight with swords; but finding themselves likely to be observed when they arrived on the ground, by mutual consent they deferred the duel

[51] Diary, edited by Halliwell, i., 255.

[52] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 476.

[53] He had recently died.

till a more convenient time and place. Gibson, a cannonier in the King's service, who was to have been Murray's second, and was also a Scotchman, finding his countryman would not fight, called him a coward, drew his rapier and thrust Murray through both cheeks. The other, before he fell, sent his weapon into Gibson's abdomen, but not till he had received two other wounds in the body. They both died.

On the same day, Mainwaring, another of the Prince's attendants, went to the house of a friend on London Bridge, proceeded into a chamber, locked himself in, and, as we are told, "took a wainscoat frame out of the window, stripped, laid aside his rings, leaped into the Thames, and was drowned, whose corpse is not found. The cause of his desperation is diversely spoken of."[54]

Richmond was still the summer residence of the Prince. The steeple of that church being in a dilapidated condition, an appeal was made for assistance towards the expense of repairing it. The attention of his Royal Highness perhaps was directed to more important matters, for his name does not appear in the list of subscriptions, which is headed by Sir Robert Douglas with 10*l.* The necessary repairs were completed at a cost of 30*l.*, and the building of the south aisle, with other repairs, were effected in the following year.

The negociation for the Prince's marriage with Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII., had been going on prosperously—the Princess being, we are assured, well inclined, and the Prince eager. The

[54] "Court and Times of James I.," ii., 502.

death of James I., on the 27th of March, 1625,[55] does not appear to have caused any serious interruption to it; and the Princess having been married by proxy on the 11th of May, arrived in England on the 12th of June. The bride and bridegroom spent their honeymoon at Hampton Court, whence they visited Richmond. It was at this period that a French lady, in the retinue of the Queen, the Duchess de Chevreuse, became a nine days wonder by swimming across the Thames. The Duchess resided at Richmond, and in the summer gave birth there to a daughter.

[55] In the "Harleian Miscellany" will be found a statement, from one of the King's physicians, accusing Buckingham of having administered poison to the King when the latter was suffering from an ague.

CHAPTER V.

Accession of Charles I.—Removal of the Court to Richmond—Settlement of the Richmond Estate on the Queen—Her Household—The King's Arrangements for Enlarging the Park—Court Etiquette—The Royal Family.

THE reign of the new sovereign commenced under an accumulation of bad omens. He was proclaimed at Whitehall during a tremendous shower; Dr. Senhouse, Bishop of Carlisle, preached the coronation sermon on the text, "I will give thee a crown of life;" and his honeymoon was rendered memorable by a pestilence[56] that drove him from his capital.

One of the first official acts of the new King, after

[56] Many of the citizens fled into Surrey, carrying the plague with them. One woman, having got as far as the hill overlooking Streatham, looked back on the metropolis, exclaiming, "Farewell, London, and farewell, plague!" and shortly afterwards was seized with the epidemic, and died with its fatal eruptions upon her breast. —*Court and Times of Charles I.*, i., 43.

the funeral of his father, which is said to have cost somewhere about 50,000*l.*, was to sign a warrant, dated June 1, 1625, directing William, Earl of Denbigh, master of the wardrobe, to give order for removing the great wardrobe to "the King's house, called Shene, near Richmond."[57] This was followed by a warrant to remove the exchequer and records to the same place.[58] The reason of this was, that the plague was raging in London, and the King thought Richmond a safer residence than town. To Richmond Palace, with his Court, his Majesty forthwith repaired, and the place was very gay, notwithstanding Sir Robert Carr, the master of the privy-purse, makes a pitiful lamentation that there is not so much in the privy-purse as would pay the nurse of Madame de Chevreuse and the midwife, and that of a privy-seal for 1500*l.* he cannot get a penny. He declares that "he is so out of love with his miserable place that he never receives a letter willingly that calls him by his title."[59] On the 28th July, 1625, the King wrote a letter from Richmond Palace to Captain John Pennington, a gentleman who figures prominently in the autobiography of Lilly the astrologer; and Buckingham, who was with his Majesty, addressed another on the same day to his servant Nicholas. Also, on the same day, two inhabitants of Richmond wrote to the Lord President Mandeville, to the effect that, in consequence

[57] State Papers, Charles I., iv.
[58] Sign Manual, i., 69.
[59] State Papers, Charles I., i.

of his Majesty's arrival, the citizens of London had flocked to the neighbourhood, notwithstanding the proclamation which forbade persons coming from infected places approaching any of his Majesty's residences. They state that his Majesty's pleasure is, that a warrant should be issued compelling such persons to remove.[60] The King and Queen attended at Richmond the christening of the infant daughter of the Duchess de Chevreuse; but soon afterwards took their departure for Woodstock, the Court following—the number of fugitives from London, coming for safety to Richmond, making the place almost as hazardous as Whitehall. Indeed, so violent was the pestilence raging in and about the capital, that the greatest alarm was created in every place accessible to the frightened citizens: there was no intercourse of boats from Kingston, and such as ventured to London were not permitted to return; and when the Court removed from Richmond to Woodstock, a gibbet was set up at the Court gate, to warn off all trespassers from infected places. Their folly in rushing to Richmond had deprived the place of all its courtly residents; and the only trace of Royalty we now meet with is a warrant, dated May 10th, 1625, to pay William Risbroke 82*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* yearly for keeping and feeding pheasants, partridges, and other fowls at Richmond; and one dated November 8, for allowing the charges of removing the receipt of the exchequer from Richmond to Reading.

[60] State Papers—Charles I.—Domestic, iv.

Richmond Palace, however, became the young Queen's residence; and it would have been better for her had she endeavoured to make herself content with the numerous gratifications it afforded, instead of encouraging cabals among her French servants. The King in vain strove to amuse her with the usual Court entertainments, varied with visits to Richmond, and to other palaces near London. Her Majesty made every body uncomfortable by her complaints; but when it was pretty clearly intimated to her, by the ambassador sent by the King of France to inquire into her alleged grievances, that she was in the wrong, and that she would not be supported by him, her conduct improved.[61]

Charles appears, at the commencement of his reign, to have promised a reformation in many Court abuses—the payment of his father's, mother's, and brother's debts, and the disparking of superfluous parks and chases—the latter much called for; the land having, as we are told, "more of that kind than all the rest of Europe beside."[62] But it was not long before the evil effects of a bad education began to show themselves; and the domination of the favourite, the Duke of Buckingham,[63] created great discontent.

After the Manor of Richmond had been settled on the Queen, Charles, on the 1st of May, 1627, issued orders for the government of the Queen's household[64]—the

[61] Strickland's "Queens of England," v., 241.

[62] "Court and Times of Charles I.," 10.

[63] He was assassinated by Felton on the 13th of August, 1628.

[64] Printed from a MS then in the library of Thomas Astle in the Collection of "Ordinances and Regulations," 340.

first article of which prohibited access to her apartments by unauthorized persons. The gentleman usher, or daily waiter, is directed, when the maids of honour are in the presence-chamber, not to suffer any one, except such as are fit to bear them company, to stand at the upper end, or to sit on the side form when they sit there; nor is any one to be permitted to lay on the floor, or stand on the carpet or half-pace; no lady, whatever her rank may be, is to enter or pass through the chamber masked or muffled. The maids of honour are to come up before and after dinner into the presence-chamber, and stay there a reasonable time, especially when an ambassador has audience; but not to appear, except when sent for. In the privy-chamber no lady below a Baroness, and no man under the degree of a Privy-councillor, is to be admitted. In the withdrawing-chamber, no Countess or other lady is to enter without asking leave. In the bed-chamber admission is strictly prohibited, except the proper attendants, or persons sent there by the King. The "mother of the maids" is directed to see all the regulations respecting these young ladies duly observed; and if she find any refractoriness, she is to report the same to the Lord Chamberlain, or Vice-Chamberlain.

The Queen's attendants comprised the lord and vice-chamberlain, the master of the horse, the principal secretary and master of requests, five gentlemen ushers of the privy-chamber, the same number who were daily waiters, and six who were quarterly waiters, cup-bearers, carvers, and sewers, two each, eight

grooms of the privy-chamber, four sewers of the chamber, the same number of pages of that chamber, and four others; the clerk of the closet, an apothecary, and a surgeon; there were also a doctor, an apothecary, and a surgeon to the household. The officers of the robes were—a master, surveyor, purveyor, yeoman, groom, and tailor; page, clerk, brusher, and a clerk of the jewels. The Queen's hunting-establishment consisted of the master of the bows and string-hounds, the keeper of the hounds, yeomen of the bows, of the leash, and of the harriers, and the grooms. Her musicians numbered eleven, beside the master and his boys. In the great chamber were the keeper and twelve grooms. To her barge there was a master and twenty-three watermen; and among her women servants were classed the ladies of the bedchamber, the groom of the stole, the mistress of the robes, the ladies of the privy-chamber, ladies-keepers of the sweet coffers, six maids of honour, the same number of chamberers, under-chamberers, the laundress of the body, with three laundry maids, the seamstress, and the Queen's women.

The Court, when at Richmond, made the palace, and indeed the entire neighbourhood, brilliantly gay. Queen Anne had been far from indifferent to the attractions of a well-filled wardrobe, and did not scruple to run largely into debt to gratify her taste for expensive articles of dress. The ladies of the Court followed her example, and the extravagances in

personal decoration which from them spread all over the country are dilated on in a vast number of cotemporary tracts and poems. In their visits to Richmond they may have given additional features to the varied landscape; but to a painter's eye they must have proved indifferent substitutes for the picturesque group that had formed the Court of the Virgin Queen. Prince Henry was graceful, yet dignified in appearance; whatever he wore the effect was totally without foppishness. Prince Charles was content to imitate Buckingham, who displayed all the finery the prodigal folly of his patron could furnish. Prodigals, in consequence, multiplied prodigiously, and rivalled each other in the rapidity with which they went the road to ruin. Among the satirists who have inveighed against the excessive expenditure in dress was John Taylor, already quoted as "the Water Poet," who alludes to such spendthrifts as persons who—

> "Wear a farm in shoe-strings edged with gold,
> And spangled garters worth a copyhold;
> A hose and doublet which a lordship cost;
> A gaudy cloak, three manors' price almost;
> A beaver band and feather for the head,
> Priced at the church's tythe, the poor man's bread."

After the death of James a better taste began to manifest itself in England. But it was as much an importation as Rubens and Vandyke. Art and costume were equally benefited by the visits of these illustrious men; and in their productions we are enabled to observe not only the advance made in this

country in painting, but the vast improvement that had been effected in personal appearance. Our ladies look queen-like, our nobles have quite a princely aspect, and every gentleman stands in the canvas with the air of an accomplished courtier. Royalty profited to the same extent. Charles becomes not only "every inch a king," but something more. The Stuart features are refined, intellectualized, sometimes spiritualized, into an expression of grace and dignity they never wore before.

That Charles I. continued to take an interest in Richmond may be gathered from certain State Papers—such as a warrant dated 19th of May, 1628, to Sir Robert Douglas, his Majesty's steward of the manors of Richmond, Petersham, and Ham, to summon and keep a Court Leet within the said manors.[65] A subsequent paper, addressed by the King in September to Attorney-General Heath, directed him to prepare a bill for the royal signature, for a Court Leet to be held twice a-year, when all residents were to perform suit royal; Sir Robert Douglas to be Steward of the Court Leet for life.[66] On the 13th of October the grant and appointment were made, the salary of Sir Robert being 40*s.* per annum.[67] Another letter from the King to the Attorney-General, Nov. 29, refers to the same subject.

In a letter from Philip Mainwaring to Sir Thomas

[65] State Papers—Charles I.—Domestic, vol. civ., No. 20.

[66] Ibid., vol. cxvii., No. 13-14.

[67] Ibid., vol. cxviii., No. 60.

Vane, dated March 29th, 1629, the former says he gave Sir Francis Crane warning to send that day to Sir Henry's house; but the King having been yesterday with him at Mortlake, has put him off."[68] The King's visit was to the tapestry manufacture, which Crane had established there with such success, that he received the honour of knighthood and a pension of 1000*l.* a-year in lieu of a claim for 6000*l.* for tapestry furnished the King. He also received a grant of 2000*l.* to assist in proceeding with the works for the next ten years. Sir Francis, however, subsequently made a complaint that after an expenditure of 16,000*l.*, the Royal patronage had brought him but 2,500*l.*[69] Some of his productions are preserved at Hampton Court and other mansions.

In and about Richmond a great commotion was created by rumours respecting the King's intentions in the disposition of the estates in the neighbourhood. These, however, did not take their proper shape till it became known that, on December 12th, 1634, a commission had been issued to Lord Cottington (his secretary when Prince of Wales, and companion in his Spanish expedition), now chancellor of the exchequer; Sir Francis Crane, his chancellor of the order of the garter; Sir John Banks, his attorney-general; and certain other persons therein named, giving them powers to make such arrangements as they should

[68] State Papers—Charles I.—Domestic, vol. cxxix., No. 68.

[69] Walpole—"Anecdotes of Painters," by Dallaway and Warnum, i.

think fit with the landowners and inhabitants of Wimbledon, Mortlake, Richmond, Petersham, Ham, Kingston, and other parishes adjoining, for throwing their estates and commons into one immense park, which should include with them the crown lands at Kew, Richmond, and Ham. Certainly something was mentioned in this document of an intention to purchase the desired properties; but as the proprietors preferred retaining their possessions, many of which had been held by families for several generations, and the poorer inhabitants were not disposed to surrender their rights of common, even had the Royal exchequer been less empty than it notoriously was, they could not help coming to the conclusion that they were on the eve of a general confiscation.

Notwithstanding the discontent the plan created, the proceedings continued till December, 1635, when an arrangement was completed between the King and several of the freeholders, copyholders, and other inhabitants, for the transfer of 265 acres belonging to the Manor of Petersham, and 483 acres in Ham, for the sum of 4,000*l*. Other landowners, however, stood out stiffly for their rights; and murmurs, loud and deep, were raised all over the country against this arbitrary scheme.

Charles I. inherited his father's high notions of prerogative, and went on enclosing and building a brick wall ten miles in circumference, for the purpose of keeping the red and fallow deer, with which he intended to stock this noble park. At last the popular

discontent took so serious a shape that it alarmed Lord Cottington, Archbishop Laud, and Juxon, Bishop of London, who was treasurer to the commission, and they had the honesty to state to the King that the undertaking must cost more than the Royal treasury could pay. They made all manner of delays, and emdeavoured to divert their master from his purpose; but the latter would not listen to reason, insisted on carrying out his intentions, and silenced all opposition.[70]

The complaints of the people, that the King was bent upon taking away other men's estates at his pleasure, did not affect him. He took the desired properties, enclosed, planted, and stocked the park, and built a brick wall round it; but he reserved rights of common, had roads made in various directions in the great park, to which the public had access, and gave to the poor the privilege of gathering firewood wherever they had hitherto possessed it. His plan was completed in the year 1637, and Jerome Weston Earl of Portland was appointed ranger of the great park. In the previous year, the Court being at Richmond, a masque was performed before the King and Queen, the joint production of Lord Buckhurst and Edward Sackville.

The costume of the Court of Charles I. ought to be sufficiently familiar, from the variety of historical illustrations of easy access. It need require but a passing reference to the flowing hair, the falling band, the wide-sleeved doublet, gathered at the waist, and having

[70] Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion," i., 155.

white linen ruffs at the wrists; the wide trunk hose, puffed with ribbons, with a large bow to each garter, the roses to the shoes, and the large brigand hat of the gentleman. The lady is as well known by her hair combed back, flowing at the sides, and rolled at the back; by her long-laced boddice, with peaked stomacher; white satin petticoat, nearly enclosed by a gown, gathered up from the back to the front; close-fitting sleeves, with lawn cuffs at the wrist, and a band tight at the neck and descending over each shoulder a little over her stomacher; and by her fan and long leather gloves.[71] These types, however, varied during the reign; and the courtier was often distinguished by an extravagant exaggeration of foreign fashions, which brought upon him the sharp diatribes of Puritan satirists.[72]

The fashionable cavalier, when joining the Court circle at Richmond, chose to be distinguished by a flower-pot shaped hat, with a bunch of ribbons on one side, and a drooping feather on the other; he wore patches on his face, a small moustache, and diminutive beard; two long "love-locks" descended over his laced band to his breast, where the ends were carefully tied with ribbons; his tight vest was open half way from the bottom, and so short skirted, that his fine shirt could be seen above a pair of straight-cut breeches frilled at the knees; the large tops of his boots were fringed with expensive lace, and he wore long clanking gilt spurs, a

[71] Hollar—"Ornatus Maliebris Anglicanus," 1645.

[72] "The Picture of an English Anticke, with a list of his ridiculous Habits and Apish Gestures," 1646.

rapier at his side, carried a cloak on his left arm, and flourished a walking-stick in his right hand. The gallants of the time, indeed, ruffled it bravely as long as they possessed the means, and somewhat scandalised the grave part of the Richmond community by their roystering manners and excessive foppishness of apparel. The officers of the Royal army had the front of the person, from the neck to the feet and hands, protected by plate armour; and wore gauntlets; a broad belt suspended the sword, and a helmet covered the head.

Some very curious illustrations of Court etiquette, as it existed at Richmond, have been preserved by the celebrated Balthazar Gerbier—from his position the first authority on the subject.[73] In speaking of the social observances of the French, he says:—

"First, they confine salutations to ladies, within the bounds of arrival and departure; the familiarity of kisses being thought an uncivil boldness at any other time, and were become troublesome, especially from snottinose young striplings who had learned no other quality. It is not permitted to any gentleman who visits a lady to lay down cloak or hat, except in such places that can endure doublet and breeches to keep the cloak and hat company. A gentleman who hath the honour to usher a Princess, must not yield her hand to any man, except to a Prince, or a Marshal of France."

[73] "Subsidium Peregrinantibus; or, an assistance to a Traveller in his converse with Hollanders, Germans, Venetians, Italians, Spaniards, French; directing him, after the latest mode, to the greatest honour, pleasure, security, and advantage in his travels. Written to a Princely traveller for a Vade Mecum. By Balthazar Gerbier, Knight, Master of the Ceremonies to King Charles I." Oxford, 1665.

"Never refuse," says this master of the ceremonies, "to take as a particular honour the accepting to present to a Prince or Princess the cup or glass which by that Prince or Princess's domestic servant may be brought. Its not the custom, when a Prince doth sneeze, to say as to other persons, '*Dieu vous aide*'—God help you—but only to make a low reverence. Though a French Prince should to a stander by, at his table, present something which may be eaten, yet must he not taste thereof, except the Prince commands it; and it is the like with any fruit presented between meals. If a gentleman be admitted to a Prince his table, he is not to drink before the Prince had his glass. No broth is to be taken out of a dish, but first laid on the trencher. No yolk of eggs sipped out of the shell, but taken out with a spoon. Nor any blowing of hot broth in a spoon."

Very few memorials of interest are to be gathered, referring to Henrietta Maria's residence at Richmond. We know that she was fond of gardening and planting, and despatched an English gardener to France for supplies of flower-seeds and fruit-trees for her pleasure-garden."[74]

The Queen appeared partial to Richmond; but the ancient palace, and its capacious park, did not satisfy her. Her Majesty obtained the mansion of Lord Wimbledon,[75] in the neighbourhood, and there employed herself in establishing a garden on a grand scale. Her fondness for rustic amusements was shown in the

[74] Bethune MS., 9310, fol. 33. Strickland's "Queens," v., 266.

[75] Sir Edward Cecil, created by Charles I. Baron Cecil, of Putney, and Viscount Wimbledon.

following spring, when she set out with a train of a hundred and fifty coaches, carrying the ladies and gentlemen of the Court, to go "a Maying"—a rural enjoyment that had been held in great honour in England from time immemorial; and as soon as she beheld the earliest blossoms she leaped out of her carriage, tore off the branch, and fixed it in triumph in her hat. The company returned in boats, when a water tournament was performed on the Thames for the Queen's amusement.

Prince Charles was born on the 29th of May, 1630. In the following September, writing to her former governess, Madame St. George, his mother says:—"If my son knew how to talk, I think he would send you his compliments; he is so fat and so tall, that he is taken for a year old, and he is only four months; his teeth are already beginning to come. I will send you his portrait," the Queen adds, "as soon as he is a little fairer, for at present he is so dark that I am ashamed of him.[76]

As he was born, so he continued to the end of his life, possessing about the darkest complexion in England. In the following year Henrietta Maria wrote again to her correspondent:—"He is so ugly that I am ashamed of him; but his size and fatness supply the want of beauty. I wish you could see the gentleman, for he has no ordinary mien; he is so serious in all that he does, that I cannot help fancying him far wiser than myself."[77]

[76] "Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria," edited by Mrs. Everett Green, 1857, p. 16.

[77] Ibid., 18.

The Duke of York was born in October, 1633. Both the young princes were brought up at Richmond; indeed, the family of Charles I. formed a flourishing little colony there; and the gratification of the Royal children, whenever they were permitted to visit their beautiful and healthy retreat, has been done justice to by an observer. This person was an Italian, in the service of the Queen; he was also employed by the Pontifical government to report the proceedings of the Royal family of England — his despatches are preserved among the Vatican manuscripts at Rome, and copies are in the British Museum.[78] The interests of the Holy See in this direction were, however, well looked after by Père Cyprien de Gamache and his fraternity of Capuchins in London,[79] who was also in the household of Henrietta Maria. One of the most painstaking of historical antiquaries has collected some interesting particulars of these Royal *réunions* at Richmond.[80] The King and Queen, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and the Princess Mary (born 4th November, 1631), supped together in the private apartments of the palace, the King having his sons beside him, and the little Princess sitting close to the Queen; not less

[78] Coneo—Vatican Transcripts, xxxix., 355. Green's "Princesses of England," vi., 103.

[79] "Memoirs of the Mission in England." A translation from the French of Père Cyprien, printed at the end of "Court and Times of Charles I."

[80] Mrs. Everett Green, in her valuable biographies of the daughters of Charles I.

delightful must have been their rides in the splendid park and its beautiful neighbourhood.

The Princess Elizabeth, born December 28, 1635, also resided at Richmond Palace, in the charge of the Countess of Roxburgh; and, like her elder sister, with a train of attendants and a regulated diet. She was first sent there when only five months old, the plague having appeared not only in London but in the environs, which occasioned the issue of an Order in Council, May 18, 1636, addressed to the magistrates at Richmond, to see well that no lodgers, beggars, or vagrant persons enter the neighbourhood, and to take all proper precautions against infection. Either England was especially unhealthy at this period, or epidemics were unusually frequent; for diseases of a fatal character were constantly appearing.

In the month of September, 1636, the Royal family were at Richmond, after the King and Queen had left Oxford; and for the entertainment of his parents and the Court, Prince Charles there presented a masque, on the 12th,[81] which was performed in the Palace. As the Prince was not six years old, this must be considered a remarkable proof of filial affection. Most probably the Queen, who was herself but twenty-seven, produced the masque under the auspices of Sir Kenelm Digby, and, to gratify his father, represented it as the offering of his son. It is clear that the Prince did not always

[81] "The King and Queen's Entertainment at Richmond, after their departure from Oxford, in a Masque presented by Prince Charles, Sep. 12, 1634." Oxford, 1636, 4to.

so well satisfy his mother during his stay at Richmond with his governor, the Earl of Newcastle; for a letter is extant from her, in a peremptory tone insisting on his taking physic, to which his Royal Highness had exhibited a marked reluctance.[82]

The future "Merry Monarch" revenged himself on the Earl by writing him the following epistle:—

"My Lord,—I would not have you take too much phisicke, for it doth always make me worse, and I think it will doe the like with you. I ride every day; and am ready to follow *any other* directions from you.

"Make haste back to him that loves you,

"Charles P."

He was then but eight years old.

In the year 1637 three Princesses were included in the nursery at Richmond—Mary, Elizabeth, and Anne; and the group was more than once painted and engraved. This year the park was completed, and Jerome Weston, Earl of Portland, appointed ranger. There was much loyalty in England, notwithstanding that deep and wide-spread dissatisfaction prevailed, and proper concessions would have prevented the grievous evils that shortly afterwards afflicted the country. The Queen was this year at Hampton Court, where the Royal children came from Richmond by her orders, and remained with her for several days. The chief object of such visits was their secret instruction in the Roman Catholic faith; for which Henrietta Maria, assisted by

[82] "Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria;" edited by Mary Anne Everett Green, 28.

her priests, laboured with great assiduity—especially in the King's absence. Charles the First objected to such proceedings, but did not possess sufficient strength of character to put a stop to them; the result of which was, they became known, and greatly aggravated the ill-feeling the Royal family had began to be regarded with by the Puritans.

The Princess Anne did not long enjoy the pleasures of Richmond Palace. Her constitution was originally very weak, and she did not live to complete her fourth year. Dr., now Sir Theodore Mayerne, was called in, but too late to be of any service. A *post mortem* examination was ordered, at which the medical men about the Court assisted. The document signed by them commenced as follows:—

"We, the undersigned physicians and surgeons-in-ordinary to their Majesties, certify to all those to whom it appertaineth, that they have been called to open the late high and illustrious Princess, Madam Anne, third daughter of Charles, most serene King of Great Britain, &c., who died at Richmond, the 5th of November, 1640, of a suffocating catarrh, with inflammatory disposition of the lungs, accompanied with continual fever, oppression and difficulty of breathing, constant cough, and extreme debility, the roots of which ailments have been in her a long time."

Then came details of the state of the principal organs after death, and the document thus concludes:—

"From the above it is easy to judge that this Princess could not be long-lived, and that a great part of her life

(under the good pleasure of God) has been as much owing to art as to nature, which seems to have been as little favourable to her in the first formation of the vital parts, which have found this common mother less favourable in regard to them than to the animal parts; and this has, in no small degree, contributed to her dissolution.

"Given at Richmond, this 6th of the month of the year aforesaid."[83]

It is difficult to understand the meaning of the preceding paragraph; indeed, after at least a dozen fruitless attempts, we have been obliged to give it up in despair. We cannot help remarking a strange coincidence in the decease of so many of the Stuarts—Henry, Prince of Wales, James I., the Princess just mentioned, and later (1670), Henriette Anne (the fifth daughter of Charles I.), Duchesse d'Orleans. Autopsy was found necessary in three cases out of the four; but was quite as much required in the fourth. In the first and last the administration of poison has been frequently forcibly asserted—in the old King less confidently; but in his grandchild it does not appear that any foul play was suspected. Looking to the entire dynasty, it is evident that the Stuarts were as unfortunate in their deaths as in their lives.

Prince Charles accompanied his father on his triumphal entry into London, Nov. 25th, 1641, when

[83] Middlehill MSS., 2339, fol. 271. Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart., possesses the letters and prescriptions of Mayerne; and the document in the text is quoted by Mrs. Everett Green.—*Lives of the Princesses*, vi., 394.

his Majesty returned from Scotland, and the Lord Mayor and corporation exceeded all their former efforts, in the way of pageants, with a medley of giants, and Jason, King Arthur, and John of Gaunt; Solomon and his progeny, with a mob of angels, archangels, patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, "in the heavenliest manner;" the sun, moon and stars, "birds singing on trees, divers manner of wild beasts, and motes with sluices, with fishes swimming in them."[84] There was a magnificent procession in which the Prince's Highness was a principal feature, attended by quirrys [equerries] and footmen, which entered the city at Moorgate, with the King, Queen, the Duke of York, and the Princess Mary; and the city afterwards gave them a sumptuous banquet. In short, so good an understanding appeared to be established between the loyal citizens and their grateful sovereign, that sanguine people began to look forward to a happy settlement of all disputes.

Music continued to be generally cultivated at Court, as indeed it was in every section of society. Among the fashionable airs were, "The Friar and the Nun," composed about the end of the preceding century; with "Sir Edward Noel's delight," "All you that love good fellowship," and other airs that are to be found in Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book. In Charles' reign, too, were popular "The Cushion Dance," and "Fortune my Foe." The famous party tune of "Lillibullero" was of the same century, but of later date; Mr. Chappel is of opinion that it was composed by Henry

[84] "Ovatio Carolina: The Triumph of King Charles," &c.

Purcell, while the words have been attributed to Philip, Earl of Wharton.

Discord, however, was beginning to prevail over harmony, and in the confusion of conflicting opinions that was daily becoming more and more noisy nothing musical appeared that did not contain the elements of strife.

The Queen considered that she had married with one object, as will clearly appear by her letters to the Pope and to Louis XIII.,[85] and this she constantly kept in view. It was to bring England to embrace the Catholic faith; and among her own children, as well as wherever her influence extended, she sought by every means in her power to make converts. Charles tried to check her proselytizing tendencies, and insisted on the children being brought up as Protestants; but their mother never missed an opportunity to instil into their minds her own ideas of religion. She was assisted by agents sent by the Pope to further the contemplated conversion of heretic England; and these men, Gregory Panzani, and George Coneo, constantly wrote despatches to Rome, detailing their proceedings with the King's family and the Court, with which they contrived to remain, wherever they might happen to be. These proceedings added greatly to the ill-feeling against Royalty that had for years been spreading over the country.

[85] See Mrs. Everett Green's carefully edited "Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria," 8 and 9.

CHAPTER VI.

Distinguished Members of the Court of James I. and Charles I.—Prince Charles leaves Richmond at the breaking out of the Civil War—Loyalty of Surrey—Richmond proposed as the King's Residence—Rising in his Favour—Dr. Duppa and the "Eikon Basilike."

Among the distinguished characters that had occasionally joined the Court at Richmond, since the advent of the Stuart dynasty, a deservedly high position must be given to Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, and to his Countess, Alathea Talbot. Their names are intimately connected with the progress of refinement—Lord Arundel being as great a lover of the Arts as either Prince Henry or his brother, and assisted materially in diffusing the taste which the former exhibited in his favourite residence. Prominent in the list of those who followed the same fashion was the Duke of Buckingham, who collected pictures with marked assiduity. Of the

members of the Royal household, precedence must be given to Ludovick Stuart, Duke of Lennox, who had been Lord Chamberlain to James VI., and employed by him in Scotland both as admiral and ambassador. After James's accession to the throne of England, the Scottish Duke was honoured with an English peerage, 6th of October, 1613, as Baron Settrington, and Earl of Richmond. He was also appointed master of the household, and first gentleman of the bedchamber; and in 1623 was created Earl of Newcastle, and Duke of Richmond. He was three times married, but died without issue, in the month of February, 1624, when the English honours became extinct; his Scottish titles, however, devolved on his brother Esme, created by James I., 7th of June, 1619, Baron Clifton, and Earl of March. His eldest son James, who held the office of Lord Great Chamberlain, Admiral of Scotland, Lord Steward of the household, warden of the Cinque ports, and gentleman of the bedchamber, was made a knight of the garter, and created, on the 8th of August, 1641, Duke of Richmond. He was married to Lady Mary, the only daughter of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the favourite of James and Charles.[86]

[86] For the favours he received he showed himself grateful by an earnest devotion to his Royal master during his troubles. He subscribed 40,000*l.*, double the sum the Earl of Stafford had proffered, for the King's service; and said he would cheerfully continue to attend his Majesty, if only to carry his cloak. He was faithful to the last, and assisted in placing the King's remains in his sepulture at Windsor. He died in 1655.

James Hay, noticed in a preceding chapter, was the first favourite that King James showed a fancy for after his arrival in England. He had been in France, and had served in the King of France's Scottish Guard, and was, no doubt, an accomplished gentleman when presented to his sovereign by the French ambassador—possessed the advantage of a fine person, set off with the latest Parisian fashion. Hay's fortune was made at once; and, in gratitude, he subsequently gave the ambassador a feast at Essex House, in the Strand, which Sir Anthony Weldon describes as the most sumptuous that ever was seen, and one that never was equalled. Among other marvels presented to the guests were sturgeons from Russia, of such enormous size, that it became necessary to make dishes large enough to contain them. "After that," says the courtly chronicler, "there was a *voide*, after that a masque of choice noblemen and gentlemen, and after that a most costly banquet (supper), the King, lords, and all the prime gentlemen then about London being invited thereto." Weldon gives Hay so amiable a character, that no one can be surprised at the position he held at Court, or the honours he received. His mind must have corresponded with his person, or he could not have filled with credit the various diplomatic and ministerial employments with which he was entrusted. He was sent ambassador to the Courts of France and Germany, was a member of the Privy-Council, master of the great wardrobe, gentleman of the robes, and a knight of the garter. He was first created Baron Hay, of Sanby, in York-

shire, 29th of June, 1615; then Viscount Doncaster, 5th of July, of the following year; and, finally, Earl of Carlisle, 13th of September, 1622.[87]

Henry, the second son of the celebrated Earl of Surrey, kept in the background during the reign of Elizabeth. Towards the close of her reign he paid great court to the Earl of Essex, while striving to gain the confidence of Lord Burghley and his more crafty son, Cecil. He assisted the latter in carrying on a secret correspondence with the King of Scotland, who, on coming to the throne, rewarded him for his services with many offices of honour and emolument, and created him, 13th of March, 1604, Baron Howard, of Thornhill, and Earl of Northampton. He contrived to maintain a fair reputation, built Northumberland House, in the Strand, and was considered a patron of art and learning; but there is no doubt that he was totally devoid of principle, and was the prime mover of some of those dark transactions that cast so deep a shadow upon the memory of his Royal patron. He died on the 15th of June, 1614.

In the second year of the reign of Charles I., the rival claims of Robert de Vere, nineteenth Earl of Oxford, and Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, to the Earldom of Oxford and to the hereditary

[87] He outlived his patron; and having been first gentleman of the bedchamber to King Charles, died 25th of April, 1636, leaving one son, James, second Earl, who married Lady Margaret Russell, daughter of Francis, Earl of Bedford; and there being no children by this union, the titles became extinct at his death in the year 1660.

office of Lord Great Chamberlain of England, were brought to an issue. The claims of the latter were based on the rights of his mother, Mary, only daughter of John de Vere, sixteenth Earl, by his second wife; the former was grandson to Aubrey, the second son of John, the fifteenth Earl. The cause came for judicial decision before the Lord Chief Justice Crew, the Lord Chief Baron Sir John Walter, Justices Doddridge and Yelverton, and Mr. Baron Trevor—when the first two gave an opinion in favour of the heir-male, and the last three for the heir-general; the result of which was, that Lord Willoughby was admitted into the House of Peers with the staff of the Lord Great Chamberlain, and Robert de Vere sat as Earl of Oxford. Robert was killed at the siege of Maestricht in 1632, and was succeeded by his only child Aubrey. The Earl was married twice.[88]

Among the mansions visited by James I. in Surrey was Losely Hall, near Guildford, a royal demesne in Saxon times, but by the Norman conqueror presented to Roger de Montgomery, a knight who had greatly distinguished himself at Hastings. It had various proprietors either by purchase or inheritance. Chris-

[88] He had no issue by Anne, daughter and co-heir of Viscount Bayning; but by his second wife, Diana, daughter of George Kirke, one of the King's Grooms of the Bedchamber, he had a son and three daughters, (who died early and unmarried); and Diana, who became the wife of Charles Beauclerck, Duke of St. Alban's, natural son of Charles II. by Nell Gwynne. Twenty generations of de Veres, Earls of Oxford, had passed away at the death of Aubrey de Vere in 1702, and the honours became extinct.

topher More bought it in the time of Henry VIII., by whom he was knighted when filling the office of sheriff of the county. He also held the post of Remembrancer of the Exchequer. The King gave him license to empark his manor, consisting of two hundred acres, and in it to maintain a free warren and a herd of deer. He died August 16, 1549, and was succeeded by his eldest son, William, who was knighted by the Earl of Leicester, Queen Elizabeth being present, in the garden of the Earl of Lincoln, at Pirford, in the same county—of which he was twice Sheriff, as well as member of Parliament for Guildford, and Vice-Admiral of Surrey and Sussex. He rebuilt Losely, which was completed in 1568. He died in 1600. His son, Sir George, added a western wing, with gallery and chapel—since pulled down. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and long represented Guildford in Parliament. He is the Sir George More who figured in the reign of James as Lieutenant of the Tower, and held the office of Receiver-General and Treasurer to Henry, Prince of Wales. Whatever may have been the extent and character of his services to the King, memorials are in existence which prove that he was neglected by that monarch in the latter part of his life.[89] He, however, survived him; and, though at an advanced age and with many infirmities, attended at the King's funeral, as Chancellor of the Garter.[90] He survived till 1632.

[89] Losely MSS., edited by A. J. Kempe, F.S.A., xviii.

[90] Nicholl's "Progresses of James I.," iii., 1043.

The Earl of Monmouth's family, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hugh Trevanion, consisted of two sons and a daughter. Of the former, the eldest, Henry, was one of the knights made at the creation of Charles, Prince of Wales, and succeeded him in the earldom. He is described by Anthony à Wood as an accomplished cavalier, and a general scholar. Walpole, however, though placing him among the noble authors, acknowledges that he was neither acquainted with his works nor his character. He married Lady Martha Cranfield, daughter of Lionel Earl of Middlesex, Lord Treasurer, by whom he had two sons.[91]

The Earl of Newcastle, at the breaking out of hostilities between the King and Parliament, found himself obliged to give up the post of governor to the Prince, in consequence of having a military command in the north of England. The Earl can therefore scarcely be made responsible for the subsequent short-comings of his Royal pupil. The Marquis of Hertford was appointed to succeed him; but the correspondence of Henrietta

[91] Both predeceased their father (the eldest was killed at Marston Moor), who had also seven daughters, of whom four died unmarried. Anne married James Hamilton, Earl of Clanbrasil, Elizabeth, William Earl of Desmond, and Martha, John Earl of Middleton. Henry was, therefore, the last Earl of Monmouth when he died 13th June, 1661. Thomas, the second son of the first Earl, was one of the grooms of the bedchamber to Charles, and a poet of some eminence. He was a devoted servant of his unfortunate sovereign, whose execution overwhelmed him with grief; and he died soon afterwards in his thirty-third year, leaving one daughter, Elizabeth, who married John, second son of the Earl of Peterborough.

Maria shows that Lord Newcastle maintained considerable influence at Court, at least with her Majesty; for, in a very friendly letter, dated Oxford, October 7, 1643, the Queen consults him about a desire of the Marquis to be made groom of the stole to the King, and offers him the appointment of either chamberlain or gentleman of the bedchamber.[92] Dr. Duppa, Dean of Christchurch, was the Prince's tutor.

During the minority of Prince Charles, a young lady made her appearance at Court, whose personal attractions threw into the shade all its fairest ornaments. She was the celebrated Venetia, the youngest daughter of Sir Edward Stanley, K.B., of Tong Castle, Salop, and Lucy Percy, co-heir of Thomas Earl of Northumberland. Lady Stanley died when Venetia was a child; and Sir Edward, who was the second son of the magnificently hospitable Edward, third Earl of Derby, having received a summons to attend the marriage of the Princess of Elizabeth with the Count Palatine, took with him his daughter, then between thirteen and fourteen years of age. Young as she was, she attracted admiration; but according to that modernized chivalric romance called the "Private Memoirs of Sir Kenelm Digby," but which that very imaginative gentleman, its author, more properly entitled, "Loose Fantasies," the affection she entertained for Sir Kenelm, then, we are informed, travelling on the Continent,[93] to whom she

[92] "Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria," 230. After the battle of Marston Moor the Earl, now Marquis of Newcastle, retired to the Continent, having quarrelled with Prince Rupert.

[93] If he was born in 1603, and Venetia in 1600, the dates

had previously engaged herself, caused her to repulse a noble admirer, whom she had fascinated during the performance of a masque. Sir Kenelm invites his readers to believe that this nobleman, with the connivance of Miss Stanley's governess, carried her off to his country-house; whence, as soon as she became aware of his designs, she escaped by letting herself out of the window by the sheets of her bed, by subsequently running across the park, and scaling the palings. Hardly had she got out of the estate when she was attacked by a wolf, and from his ravenous jaws was rescued by the timely appearance of a neighbouring proprietor, who happened to be early that morning enjoying the diversion of hunting. Having of course soon settled her assailant, he caused her to be conducted by his servants to a mansion close at hand, belonging to a widow lady, who chanced to be the distressed damsel's kinswoman. Here she remained, but not quite in safety, for her hostess appears to have been in league with Sir Kenelm's mother, who was extremely averse to her son's marrying the fair Venetia, in consequence of certain reports that deeply affected the young lady's reputation. If any reliance can be placed on the "Loose Fantasies," as historical materials, more than one person in the Prince's establishment was enamoured of Miss Stan-

usually given, at the time of the marriage of the Princess, January 1613, they must have been but juvenile lovers; and Kenelm could not have left England. But Sir Kenelm Digby is a writer who soars far above such old-fashioned restraints as dates and facts.

ley. We are not quite certain whether the Mardontius of this narrative was the Earl of Dorset or Sir Edmund Wyld. By the former, Aubrey[94] avers she had one if not more children, and that he settled upon her an annuity of 500*l.*; and Sir Edmund, he says, "had her picture, and you may imagine was very familiar with her." This Mardontius is described as having possession of the lady's picture, and surrendering it after having been challenged by her lover on his return from his travels. It is just possible that these two gentlemen were the one she escaped from, and the one she escaped to.

Another lover is made to play an equally curious part in this curious drama: his name was Clerk, and he belonged to the bedchamber of the Prince, when Sir Kenelm held the same post. The narrative states that Clerk not only took Sir Kenelm into his confidence, but engaged his assistance, and that the latter earnestly urged the suit of his colleague, though without success. This is only a small portion of the Author's inconsistency; for he makes two discreditable attempts on the honour of the beautiful Venetia, though representing himself chivalrously devoted to her marvellous perfections.[95] He was repulsed in both instances, and thenceforth was confident of her virtue. In this idea he seems to have stood nearly alone; for all his friends and relations strove to dissuade him from the purpose he entertained of marry-

[94] "Letters by Eminent Persons," ii., 330.

[95] Details are given in his "Loose Fantasies;" but much has been suppressed by the editor of his "Private Memoirs," 1827.

ing her; and his kinsman, Lord Bristol, made an earnest remonstrance, which the ardent lover met with about the most sophistical arguments ever heard of respecting female chastity. The lady nevertheless won the day; for hearing that her lover had been appointed to go to France to assist in expediting the marriage of the Prince of Wales and Henrietta Maria, and that he was embarrassed for want of funds to meet the necessary expenses of his mission, pawned all her plate and jewels, and sent him the proceeds. Such an act would not admit of further deliberation, and, about the month of January, 1625, they were privately married.

Whatever Venetia Stanley had been, Venetia Digby was now a part of himself, and her husband defended her reputation against all assailants. Another gentleman of the Prince's bedchamber, whom he styles "Famelicus," having incautiously boasted of his intimacy with her, received a challenge which made him eagerly eat his words; and several other courtiers, who had been merry on the subject of the marriage, became discreet enough to hold their tongues.

As Sir Kenelm was held in especial favour by Henrietta Maria—for whom he is said to have planned all Court entertainments—he was not only frequently at the Royal palaces in town, but in those in the country. His professing the same religion as herself, quite as much as his graceful manners and intellectual conversation, recommended him to the Queen; and when she was at Richmond, there was no one with whom her Majesty was fonder of consulting as to her gardening

and other improvements, than this accomplished gentleman of her husband's bedchamber.

Venetia Digby died suddenly, on the 1st of May, 1633—it is stated, of cosmetics given by her husband to preserve her beauty—by other authors, by poison administered by him in a fit of jealousy. Sir Kenelm attributes his lady's early dissolution to her habit of drinking "viper wine," which, he being an experimental chemist, probably manufactured. He mourned her after a fashion known only to such philosophers, by mounting a long cloak, with a high-crowned hat, and by allowing his beard to remain unshorn; and in this guise retiring to Gresham College, to make further experiments in chemistry. He also exhibited his regret by raising to her memory a copper bust and four Latin inscriptions in copper gilt, in Christ's Church, near Newgate. The portrait at Windsor, by Vandyke, is a more agreeable, and has proved a more enduring, monument of the beautiful Venetia; and in the charming miniature that Walpole possessed may still be seen those exquisite attractions that created so deep an impression among the courtiers of Charles I.[96]

[96] Three years later Sir Kenelm announced himself a convert to the Church of Rome; but he had long been secretly a Catholic—and about the year 1640, being out of favour in England, he went to France, where he met with some wonderful adventures, and returned to England about the end of 1641, when the Parliament caused him to be imprisoned in Winchester House for two years. On his liberation he again went to France, where he entered the service of Henrietta Maria as her Chancellor, who sent him on a mission to the Pope. His Holiness, however, does not appear to have liked his principles, and doubted his sanity. In 1655 Sir

After the marriage of his sister to the Prince of Orange, Prince Charles addressed a letter to her, which, as he was then but thirteen years old, was evidently not composed by himself—indeed, it was written with quite a different object to its ostensible one: much of it is a lament on the troubles then afflicting the kingdom; and, as it was printed as a broadsheet, and circulated far and wide, it must be regarded as an appeal to the loyalty of the nation. He writes, towards the conclusion—"Dear sister, we are as much as we may, merry, and more than we would, sad—in respect we cannot alter the present distempers of these turbulent times.[97]

Henrietta Anne, the fifth daughter of Charles I., was born on the 16th of June, 1644, at Exeter, under circumstances that appeared to presage her miserable dissolution; for the Civil war was raging, and the Queen had been obliged to take refuge in a garrison town, upon which the Parliamentary general, the Earl of Essex (the companion of Prince Henry), was advancing

Kenelm was again in England, and equally astonished Royalists and Roundheads by being apparently in the confidence of the Lord Protector. He travelled again in France and Germany, and returned to England in 1661. He not only mingled with the fashionable, but in the scientific world, becoming one of the Council of the Royal Society in 1663, and passing much of his time in the study of mathematics and chemistry. Though a very fine man, and every way a distinguished character, the beauties of the Court of Charles the Second appear to have remembered the fate of the fair Venetia, and the merry monarch was not more sociable. Sir Kenelm died in his 62nd year, on the 11th of June, 1665.

[97] Rawlinson MSS., Bodleian Library. Halliwell's "Letters of Kings of England," ii., 332.

with a formidable army. Henrietta Maria, fifteen days after her confinement, abandoned her child, while the latter was in a state of health that demanded the tenderest care, and escaped to France. Lady Dalkeith was left in charge of the infant. On the 17th of July the King arrived at Exeter; and during the few days he could permit himself to remain, he confirmed Lady Dalkeith in her appointment, associating with her, in the capacity of chaplain to the Princess, Doctor Fuller, author of "The Worthies of England," and other works of much merit. In the following year the Doctor dedicated to this lady his "Good Thoughts in Bad Times," in which, with characteristic quaintness, he writes:—

"But I am tedious, for your honour can spare no more minutes from looking on a better book, her infant highness, committed to your charge. Was ever more hope of worth in a less volume? But, oh! how excellently will the same, in due time, be set forth, seeing the paper is so pure, and your ladyship the overseer to correct the press."[98]

The King hurriedly left the city, and never beheld his daughter again. In the August of the following year the Prince of Wales arrived, and remained a month, when he also was obliged to seek a safer neighbourhood, after addressing a letter to Sir Thomas Fairfax, as preliminary to a peace.[99] The helpless little Princess and her governess, finding no means of escape, were detained within the walls of Exeter till it was besieged by Generals Fairfax and Waller; and, its

[98] "Good Thoughts in Bad Times," 1645. London, 18mo.

[99] Halliwell's "Letters of Kings of England," ii., 394.

capture being imminent, negociations were commenced for the transfer of the Princess to the care of the Parliament. On the 18th of April, 1646, Lady Dalkeith wrote to Sir Thomas Fairfax, stating that being permitted by the King to remain in charge of the Royal infant, in any of his Majesty's houses in the neighbourhood of London, she had selected Richmond, which selection she requests him to recommend to the Parliament.[1] The General forwarded the letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, William Lenthall, on the following day. The little Princess and her governess left Exeter, but were not permitted by the authorities, in whose hands they had fallen, to enjoy the pleasant retreat Lady Dalkeith had selected. They were sent, about the end of April, to another Royal residence in the same county, Oatlands, where, however, they were not suffered to remain beyond the 24th of May, when the governess was ordered to take her charge with two of the King's children, then in the custody of the Parliament, to St. James's Palace; and directions were, at the same time, given for the discharge of all her attendants. Lady Dalkeith, finding remonstrances in vain, secretly fled in disguise from Oatlands, on the 25th of July, with the Royal infant, also disguised, in her arms, walked to Dover, and, going on board the packet, in due time joined the Queen, at St. Germains.[2]

[1] The original is in the Bodleian Library; Tanner MS., No. 59, part i., fol 82, and has been printed by Mrs. Everett Green—"Lives of the Princesses," vi., 405.

[2] This account is taken from an exaggerated narrative of Lady

Why the Parliament would not permit one of the members of the Royal family to live at Richmond is not stated. Nevertheless, it is evident that the republican leaders had a strong objection—as a residence for any one of them—not only to Richmond, but to the whole of Surrey. The cause of this in a short time made itself manifest—the frequent visits of their sovereigns, and the stay made by their families in various parts of the county, had left upon the minds of the Surrey people so strong a feeling of loyalty, that, notwithstanding their real grievances, when the King's position became desperate, and the designs of his enemies to destroy him began to be suspected, so much affection for Royalty prevailed in that part of the Kingdom, that to have sent but one of the King's children there would have been providing a rallying-point for the Royalists for a counter-revolution that might have much embarrassed the Parliamentary authorities.

The Prince of Wales, after the Civil war had commenced, left Richmond, and went from place to place with some portion of the Royalist army. In 1645 it was considered advisable that he should separate from the King, and hold a separate court in the west of England; but the Queen wrote to Sir Edward Hyde, in April, 1646, against the idea then entertained of his hiding himself in Scilly, and recommends his removal to Jersey.[3] To Jersey he went; but, as this

Dalkeith's elopement, written by Pere Cyprien the Capuchin.—*Court and Times of Charles I.*, ii., 409.

[3] Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion," iii., 28.

island was not considered a safe retreat, he was desired both by the King and Queen to take refuge in France, the King commanding him to obey his mother in everything except in religion, and the Queen earnestly requesting his immediate departure. The Prince was extremely reluctant to quit England; but on the receipt of a large sum of money from his mother, and the miniature of a handsome French heiress, Mademoiselle de Montpensier, his scruples vanished, and he shortly afterwards landed on the French coast.[4]

Both houses of Parliament addressed a letter to the King, dated June 22nd, 1647 :—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

"Your Majesty's loyal subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, out of their earnest desire that the peace of your three kingdoms may have a speedy settlement, have passed their votes for your Majesty's coming to your house at Richmond, that a joint application may be made unto your Majesty from your parliaments of England and Scotland. To that purpose it is our humble desire that your Majesty will be pleased to come accordingly; and our prayers shall be to the great God that he will bless all endeavours that will tend to the preventing further distractions in Church and State, and to the procuring of a safe and well-grounded peace."[5]

That this communication was delusive may be seen

[4] "Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria," 318.

[5] "Parliamentary History of England," v., 637.

in the sequel. Some at least of its framers were evidently aware of the King's affection for Richmond; and hoped, by the prospect held out to him of enjoying that delightful retreat, after the painful life he had been leading, to induce him to remain a quiet prisoner of the Parliamentary army. But there remained honourable men in both houses who were sincere in all that was expressed in their letter; and when the Parliamentary General showed no inclination to obey the spirit of that communication, the Commissioners of the Parliament wrote earnestly to Sir Thomas Fairfax, stating their instructions, that the army should not come nearer London than forty miles, and desiring him "to give the Parliament a speedy and positive account of what you have done upon their letter and votes sent to you for removal of the King's person to Richmond.[6]

The only result of this communication was a wordy remonstrance from the army, presented by their General to the Parliament, in which he demurs bringing the King to Richmond, in consequence of having received intelligence that men are "already underhand enlisted about London, both horse and foot, in very considerable number,"[7] as the writer implies, to form a counter-revolution in behalf of the King. That there was a great stir at this time in Surrey, caused by the violent seizure of Charles I., by Cornet Joyce, there can be no doubt; and probably his numerous partizans

[6] "Parliamentary History," v., 639.
[7] "Ibid., 647.

were contemplating an armed movement in his favour. In the neighbourhood of Richmond, where the invitation of the Parliament to their unfortunate sovereign had naturally excited the deepest interest, the feeling against Fairfax was getting daily more violent.

At the end of the remonstrance, which was signed by the General and his secretary, Rushworth, one of the eight resolutions which it was there stated the army had formed, was—

"That his Majesty's coming to Richmond may be suspended until affairs be better settled and composed; and in the meantime, no place may be appointed for his Majesty's residence that will be any nearer to London than the Parliament will allow the quarters of the army to be." [8]

The fact was, the leaders of the army, if not convinced that "the King's name was a tower of strength," were satisfied that his person was an unquestionable security, and they had risked too much in the quarrel to allow their safety to be compromised by a surrender of so precious a possession. In brief, they made the Parliament understand that they were masters of the situation, and intended so to remain; and, after some deliberation on the subject, both houses wrote a joint letter to his Majesty, requesting that he would be pleased to stay with his captors, adding—

"And they hope that this delay of your Majesty, coming to your house at Richmond, will be no ways preju-

[8] "Parliamentary History," v. 649.

dicial to your Majesty, or make any retardment of the present settling of the peace of your kingdom."[9]

The discussion between the Parliament and the General continued; but the army was marched to the neighbourhood of London, to overawe all opposition. The King, however, according to a letter dated June 25, at Royston, written by the Parliamentary Commissioners to the Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Peers, was not so easily subdued. "His Majesty, though much pressed to the contrary, was fully resolved upon his journey to Richmond,[10] in contemplation of which he had sent forward his baggage to Ware," but was at last persuaded to remain at Hatfield; and on finding that Parliament, on the 28th, had resolved that he should not go to Richmond, he appears to have given up the contest, and permitted his captors to carry him wherever they pleased. This complaisance evidently produced an approach to kinder feelings on the part of Fairfax, who wrote to both houses from Reading, on the 8th of July, a letter commencing:—

"Mr. Speaker,

"I was sent unto by the King on Friday last to desire the Parliament to give way to him to see his children, and that they might for that purpose be sent to him. If I may be bold humbly to offer my opinion, I think the allowance of such a thing may be without the least prejudice to the

[9] Carey's "Memorials of the Civil War," i., 257; "Parliamentary History," v., 651.

[10] Ibid., 655.

kingdom, and yet gain more upon his Majesty than denying it; and if it be the prayer of every good man, that his heart may be gained, the performance of such civilities to him is very suitable to those desires, and will bear well with all men, who, if they can imagine it to be their own case, cannot but be sorry if his Majesty's natural affection to his children in so small a thing should not be complied it." [11]

It is clear that the General thought that the ferment created in the public mind by the proceedings of the army might become dangerous, if so reasonable a desire of their prisoner, as his communicating with his children, were refused him.

The Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Princess Elizabeth, his second daughter, were in the honourable charge of the Earl of Northumberland, who at first had been offered a choice of Whitehall, Somerset House, or St. James's, as their residence; but after a short sojourn at St. James's, they were permitted in March to go to Hampton Court.

In the following June, in consequence of intelligence that the King was in the power of the Parliament, and was being brought towards London, they were hurried back to St. James's. On the 16th of July they were permitted to visit their father at Maidenhead, under the auspices of General Fairfax, whence they proceeded together to Caversham, a pleasant mansion, on the banks of the Thames, in the same county, where they remained two days. The Royal children were after-

[11] "Parliamentary History."

wards sent back to London; and the King, who had been visited by many persons of distinction and influence, was carried to Woburn, and thence to various places, till the 14th of August, when his Majesty was permitted to enter Surrey, and to stay two entire days at Oatlands. This, however, must have been considered a dangerous indulgence; for though everywhere his Majesty received tokens of kindness and sympathy, in Surrey he was sure of meeting loyalty and devotion.

The river was crossed that bounds the county, and Hampton Court became the King's fixed residence. The Thames, however, proved no barrier to the affection of his numerous friends on the other side, and of this he was soon made aware.[12] Kinder feelings began to manifest themselves in other quarters. The Royal children were permitted to reside at Sion House; the King, with a troop of horse, rode from Hampton Court on the 23rd and 31st of August, and on September 7th, 13th, and 16th; and subsequently the interesting little party at Sion House went from thence to Hampton Court, to visit their father.[13] Sir Thomas Fairfax seems to have shown much consideration towards the Royal family at this period, which the King acknowledged

[12] "The Dukes of Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, and Ormond were at Hampton Court on Friday last, sent for by the King, with the allowance both of the Parliament and the Army, but commanded away on Saturday by the Houses; this caused a great consternation at Court, and has raised in all men sad and ominous thoughts."—*Carey's Memorials*, i., 355.

[13] Mrs. Everett Green's "Lives of the Princesses," vi., 357.

in a letter dated 10th of October.[14] The excitement in prohibited Surrey respecting the intercourse between their sovereign and his children continued to increase, particularly in the neighbourhood of the Royal palaces. At Richmond, which abounded in recollections of Royal favour, this feeling was very strong. Charles might possibly have taken advantage of the re-action that had been setting in in his favour; but his want of judgment was never more manifest than at this crisis. He continued negociating with his captors, till, about the middle of November, the Royalists of Surrey were startled by the intelligence that the King had escaped from Hampton Court, and, overlooking his numerous friends at hand, had absolutely ventured into a stronghold of his enemies, and was a prisoner in Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight.

Sorrow and consternation prevailed among the attendants and faithful friends of the Royal family, settled at Richmond and its immediate neighbourhood, during the winter and following spring. On the 21st of April, 1648, the Duke of York escaped in a girl's dress, and found no difficulty in getting out of the kingdom. This event gave a fresh impulse to Royalist excitement; and the still increasing sympathy for their unfortunate sovereign, which appeared in various parts of England, evidently induced the King's enemies to bring their quarrel to such an issue as would alone suit their ambitious views. The trial of the King followed; and when it became clear that the now dominant party

[14] "Rushworth," vii., 341.

were determined to bring the King to the scaffold as a public criminal, the excitement of the people of Surrey broke out into demonstrations that could not be mistaken. On the 16th of May, 1648, an immense assemblage from this county surrounded the Houses of Parliament to present a petition, the commencing prayer of which was—"That the King may be restored to his due honour and just rights, according to the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, *and that he may be forthwith established on his throne, according to the splendour of his ancestors.*"[15]

In the eyes of those who had already imagined the King's death, such language could not but be considered extremely seditious; but the stout yeomen of Surrey were not satisfied with putting their thoughts upon parchment—they took care to show their disdain of the King's enemies. Some of them asked the guards at Westminster Hall, "Why they stood there to guard a company of rogues?"—and the answer not being satisfactory, attacked the soldiers, disarmed all, killed one, and wounded others. The military presently came to the assistance of their comrades; and a severe contest followed, in which, though they were ultimately dispersed, the Surrey men left marks of their prowess upon Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbett, who gave the House of Commons an exaggerated account of the tumult. This having been called in question by certain friends of the petitioners in the House, a committee was appointed to examine into these proceedings; but the

[15] "Parliamentary History," v., 886.

rioters, before they departed for their homes, sturdily assured them, "That they would have a speedy and satisfactory answer, or else they would have the blood of that House."

As other tumults were anticipated—indeed, a committee of safety was sitting, that represented the existence of a very dangerous state of things, both in London and in the provinces—the Surrey members were sent into their county, with instructions to express a very mild remonstrance to the petitioners, and a vague promise that all grievances should be redressed.

Hammond, who was the King's jailor at Carisbrook, sent intelligence to the committee of safety, that a physician at Kingston named Job Weale[16] had ventured into the Isle of Wight, with the design of carrying off the King, and destroying his guardians; and denounced the said Kingston doctor as "a great promoter of the Surrey petition, and an agent of the *malignants* there," meaning the Royalists in the vicinity of Richmond, who were known to be violently opposed to the revolutionists.

The loyalty of the people of the town and of the surrounding districts excited the uneasiness of the

[16] A letter from Dr. Weale to the Earl of Dover, dated May 21st, showing what his business was with the King, is printed in "Memorials of the Great Civil War," i., 425. It is clear that a public meeting was arranged at Egham Common, probably a rising. The letter ends curiously, "And so in post haste I remain, in the oath of a soldier, your lordship's friend and servant to command for my country and country's good; and the word is the anagram of my name—*obey law*. JOB WEALE."

Parliament more than once; but in the critical year 1648 this was more than usually the case, as it was known that a movement on behalf of the King was in contemplation. Many Royalists lingered in the neighbourhood; and it was evident, according to the report of the republican spies, that they were bound together by some common expectation and organization, that made them more than usually daring.

Groups of cavaliers were noticed journeying in one direction, by different routes. Some passed through Richmond, as if they had come from London; they went quietly along, as though they were ordinary wayfarers proceeding on their lawful errands; small parties crossed from the Middlesex bank of the Thames to different points on the opposite shore, and took bye-paths, and back lanes—their numbers constantly increasing as they got further from London. Little companies of horsemen galloped through Richmond Park, in that careless dashing way peculiar to equestrians of the Court; others were wandering through Combe Wood more cautiously, wending towards a common rendezvous; and over Wimbledon common were other stragglers, apparently taking no notice of each other, but all directing their course in one way.

The republicans were on the alert; and scarcely had the force been brought together by the Duke of Buckingham, son of the murdered favourite, and Lord Holland, the son of the captain of the King's guard, who had negociated his master's marriage, than they were attacked by a portion of the Parliamentary army, at

Kingston, and their light-armed cavalry driven over the bridge across the Thames; after which they were surprised and dispersed.

During the conflict, a younger brother of the Duke, having become unhorsed, with his back to a tree defended himself bravely, against the weapons of a group of Parliamentary soldiers, till he fell pierced by half a dozen fatal wounds. Such was the end of that gallant courtier, Lord Francis Villiers.

In London, sympathy with Royalty manifested itself in tumultuous meetings of apprentices and citizens, bringing petitions to the houses of Parliament, praying that the King might be permitted to come to London in honour and safety. The House of Lords, on the 31st of July, sent to the Commons a declaration desiring his Majesty would be pleased immediately to come to his Parliament—in brief, so dangerous an excitement existed in the metropolis, that several republican members of the Commons fled to the army for safety; and the speaker, Lenthall, also absented himself. The Lords next ordered that the King's children, then at St. James's, should be removed to the custody of the Lord Mayor, and that the King be requested to come to London; which was agreed to by the Commons, in a division of 73 against 32.[17] New speakers were appointed to both houses, which passed a resolution forbidding the march of the army towards London; but the generals, in a council of war, were resolved to carry everything with a high hand; and as the King

[17] "Parliamentary History," v., 733.

was persuaded to denounce the movements of his friends in his favour, they found little difficulty in carrying out their designs. They marched the army into London as into a conquered city, and at once both Houses of Parliament surrendered at discretion. Henceforth the dominant power dominated completely.

The proceedings of the King's trial and execution must be familiar to every reader. The efforts made by his loyal people of Richmond could not avert his fate, and he closed his career in a manner that gained the sympathy of some of the most vindictive of his enemies.

Among the benefits which the nation obtained from Charles I. must be attributed that of making Richmond a place of fashionable resort, by increasing its natural attractions. It began to be a favourite residence for the nobility and gentry, and many handsome structures were erected in the neighbourhood. In the year 1637, the King granted a lease of the manor of Petersham to one of the grooms of his bedchamber, William Murray,[18] the nephew of his tutor and secretary when Prince of Wales. His Majesty greatly increased the collection of objects of Art placed in the palace by his elder brother, and took a special interest in the tapestry works established at Mortlake.

A member of the Royal family was born in Surrey, and called from the place of his birth "Henry of Oatlands." He was the youngest of the three sons of

[18] In 1646 created Baron Huntingtower, and Earl of Dysart, in the Peerage of Scotland.

Charles I.; and was by letters patent, on the 13th of May, 1640, created Earl of Cambridge and Duke of Gloucester. He died unmarried, after the Restoration, in the year 1660.

CHAPTER VII.

Richmond during the Protectorate—Parliamentary Survey of Richmond Court—Sale of the Palace and Pictures—Milton and Marvel.

The Parliament, having got rid of the King, lost little time in dealing in the same manner with everything regal. Most of the Crown lands changed hands—some were preserved for the Commonwealth—and Richmond New Park was settled upon the City of London, "as an act of favour from the House"[19]—the Attorney-general being ordered to make out the grant, which was confirmed by Act of Parliament, passed on the 6th of July. The regalia was ordered to be melted down, the jewels disposed of, the statues and inscriptions to be demolished, and the pictures and furniture to be sold.

This order was felt as a cruel blow in the neighbourhood of all the royal palaces—particularly so at Rich-

[19] "Parliamentary History," iii., 1316.

mond, where the loyalty of the inhabitants was to be punished by the dispersion of the treasures their Princes had there accumulated, and by the demolition of a favourite resort of the Court. That magnificent mansion, in which Henry the Seventh had displayed his taste, and on which he had bestowed his name—where Henry the Eighth had entertained right royally imperial guests—where Queen Elizabeth had loved to retire her virgin dignity from the pressure of affairs of state—the residence Prince Henry had adorned with the taste of a Francis and the munificence of a Medici—whose corridors had been familiar with the dignity of Wolsey, the wisdom of Burghley, and the gallantry of Sidney, Essex, and Raleigh—and whose presence-chamber had been illumined by the beauties of a dozen successive generations—was to be explored in every part, and all its features noted in detail, preliminary to its being offered for sale to the best bidder.

As this survey is a very curious document, and affords the best account extant of the position and extent of the building, the names of the different chambers, and the extent of the garden and orchards, we make no apology for presenting the most remarkable portions of it. The palace is described as—

"All that capital messuage, palace, or court-house, commonly called Richmond Court, consisting of one large and fair structure of freestone, of two stories high, covered with lead: the lower contains one very large room, called 'the great buttery,' well floored and lighted, and one other little room called 'the buttery-chamber,' another room called

'the silver scullery,' and one other little room called 'the saucery,' and a large and fair passage. The higher story, containing one fair and large room, a hundred feet in length, and forty in breadth, called 'the great hall.' This room has a screen in the lower end, over which is a little gallery, and a fair foot-pace (dais?) at the higher end. The pavement is square tile, and it is very well-lighted and seeled (covered with a ceiling), and adorned with eleven statues in the sides; in the midst, a brick hearth for a charcoal fire—having a large lanthorn in the roof of the hall fitted for that purpose, twisted and covered with lead."

This shows that the arrangements of the Hall erected by Henry the Seventh were after the plan general in mansions of the fourteenth century. The next paragraph relates to a modern improvement, the advantage of which the surveyors appreciated. The lanthorn in the centre was the ancient *louvre*.

"*Mem.*—In the north end of the 'great hall' there is one turret or clock-case, covered with lead, which, together with the lanthorn in the middle thereof, are a special ornament unto that building."

The survey is now resumed, with a notice of the private apartments:—

"The privy lodgings, consisting of a very large freestone building, of curious workmanship, three stories high, all covered with lead, having twelve rooms upon every story; the lowest contains one fair room, called 'the waiters'-chamber,' floored with boards, three called 'the robe-rooms,' four belonging to the master of the horse, one called 'the ser-

vants' dining-room,' and three others belonging to the groom of the stole, all well floored, lighted, and seeled. The middle story contains one room, called 'the lobby,' arched overhead, and covered with lead, in the middle of which roof is a fair lanthorn; one fair chamber, floored with board, called 'the guard-chamber;' another called 'the presence-chamber;' one called 'the privy-closet,' and one called 'the passage.'"

There were rooms called severally, "the bed-chamber," "the withdrawing chamber," the "Duke of York's bed-chamber," "the school-chamber," the room for the pages of the bed-chamber, as well as one used as a passage; being all of them, as the description states, "well lighted and seeled, and matted upon the floors, and in themselves very pleasant and useful."

"The third story," it is stated, "contained twelve chambers, very well-lighted, seeled, and battled (battlemented), most of them matted, and all fit for present use. *Mem.*—That the structure last mentioned is leaded and battled, and hath upon it fourteen turrets, all covered with lead, standing a convenient height above the said leads; which turrets very much adorn and set forth the fabric of the whole structure, and are a very graceful ornament unto the whole house, being perspicuous to the country round about."

The Commissioners, Roundheads though they were, were not without a taste for the picturesque—the Tudor-like assemblage of turrets and towers gave the building a peculiarly striking appearance. But "Richmond Court" possessed other recommendations, which the survey thus points out:—

"In the middle of the structure last-mentioned is one paved court of twenty-four feet broad and forty feet long, which renders all the rooms thereof that lie inwards to be very light and pleasant.

"One round structure or building of freestone, called 'the canted tower,' four stories high, covered with lead and embattled, containing one cellar and four handsome rooms, one above another, and one staircase of stone, 120 steps in ascent. This tower is a chief ornament unto the whole fabric of Richmond Court.

"One fair and large structure or building, three stories high, called 'the chapel-building,' covered with lead and battled; the lowest contains a fair and spacious cellar, very well arched, called 'the wine-cellar,' as well as a little room at the side. The middle story contains three rooms used for the yeomen of the wine-cellar, and two rooms called 'the groom porter's rooms.' The third story contains one fair and large room, ninety-six feet long by thirty broad, used for a chapel. This room is very well filled with all things useful for a chapel—as fair lights, handsome cathedral seats and pews, a removable pulpit, and a fair case of carved work for a pair of organs."

The chapel had been a handsome structure when erected by Henry VII., who had furnished it appropriately. The altar-piece he caused to be painted for it has already been noticed.[20] Other portions of the structure are thus described:—

"'The Queen's closet' consists of one pile of building of two stories high, covered with lead and battled, adjoining

[20] It was in the collection of Horace Walpole, and was sold at the Strawberry-hill sale, in 1842, to Lord Waldegrave.

the chapel-building on the east, and contains one room below-stairs, called 'the Princess Mary's kitchen,' a little room used for a poultry-room, another belonging to the groom-porter; as well as a large room above-stairs called 'the Queen's closet,' well matted, lighted and seeled, having a fair window therein opening into the chapel, and three other rooms, called the 'passages above-stairs.'

"'The Prince's closet' consists of one other pile or structure of stone building, covered with lead and battled, being two stories high, adjoining to the chapel-building on the west side; and contains, below stairs, one room called 'the ewry,' two little rooms called 'the vestry-rooms,' and one large pair of stairs leading from the middle court to the chapel; and one fair room called 'the Prince's closet,' well matted, lighted and seeled, having one fair window opening into the chapel; and one room or passage, and two little rooms, part of the Lord Chamberlain's lodgings above-stairs."

Another pile of building, two stories high, covered with lead and battled with stone, is described as "of singular use and special ornament to the fabric of the whole house:" there was also a stone building, two stories high, called "the middle gate," leaded and battlemented, lying between the hall and chapel-building towards the north, containing one fair arched gate, a flight of steps, and two rooms, which formed part of the Lord Chamberlain's lodgings above-stairs. Then comes the following:—

"*Mem.*—That the aforesaid structure called the great hall-building, the passage-building, the building adjoining to the

west side of the chapel-building, and the middle gate-building, do include within them one fair court paved with freestone, sixty-seven feet long and sixty-six broad, in which court stands one very large fountain of lead."

We now arrive at the offices at the front entrance:—

"The wardrobe and other offices consist of three fair ranges of buildings, embattled and guttered with lead, and tiled in the roof, two stories high, lying round one fair and spacious court, sixty-six yards long and sixty broad, all paved, containing very many good rooms and lodgings both on the first and second story; and divers garrets, and one fair pair of strong gates, leaded, arched and battled with stone overhead, leading into the said court from the Green lying before Richmond House. The rooms and lodgings in these three ranges of building," we are then told, "did usually serve for several offices, and did belong to several officers of the Court—to wit, the cupbearer, carver, sewer, grooms of the privy-chamber, the spicery, the chandlery, to the cofferer, the clerk of the green cloth, the apothecary, confectioner, the housekeeper, the wardrobe and wardrobe-keeper, the porter, the chaplains and gentlemen of the bed-chamber."

Another pile of building, two stories high, is then described as containing a pantry-room and three larders, three little rooms below stairs, and four rooms and one little gallery above, used for the pantry and lardery men, with a structure of brick adjoining, but divided by a fair pair of strong gates leading from Richmond Green to the Royal cellar court lying along the north side of the private garden, and facing Richmond

Green for the whole extent. It is described as "a tiled building, well guttered with lead, and battled and adorned with divers pinnacles covered with lead." This range of building contained divers choice and fair rooms, both below-stairs and above, and one tennis court. And it is added:—

"From this range of building another pile of building, of brick and wood, of two stories high, extends itself all along the south-east side of the privy-garden and orchards, two hundred yards in length, unto the privy-lodgings; containing, below-stairs, one open gallery, paved with square tiles, lying to the said privy-garden and orchard; and one close or privy-gallery, floored with plaister of Paris, above-stairs. These galleries are very pleasant and useful to the whole house. In the sides of these two galleries are two little rooms below-stairs, usually belonging to the gardener. On the outside of the galleries, and adjoining, is one pile of building called 'the Friars,' containing three rooms below-stairs, and four handsome rooms above-stairs, now used for a chandler's shop."

This was a portion of the Priory, founded by King Henry the Fifth.[21] We now arrive at the portion of the palace devoted to culinary proceedings. The privy-kitchen was paved with stone, and tiled overhead, fitted with several fair ranges and dressers, a cock and pipe of lead, and a great pair of iron racks; four rooms below stairs, and four rooms above, belonged to the master cook, and the under-cook. Then there was the livery kitchen, a square building, floored with stone, fitted with

[21] Tanner's "Notitia Monast.," fol. edit., p. 546.

four ranges, dressers, side-tables, and with a cock and pipe of lead. It had in the middle a large spired turret, leaded all over, which, according to the account, rendered it a special ornament unto the rest of the buildings. There was a flesh larder, two stories high, adjoining the livery-kitchen, and over it was the boiling-house. There were two rooms called "the pastry-house," fitted with dressers, containing a kneading-board, and an oven, with several small chambers belonging to the yeoman of the pastry. The fish larder was also floored with stone, and over it three rooms and a garret, usually belonging to the clerk of the kitchen. They stood round a little court near the water-side. Close to these were the poultry-house, the scalding-house, the armoury-room, the ale buttery, wood-yard, lodging, the pitcher-house, and the coal-house, as well as some small rooms used by the scullery men and the clerk of the wood-yard; with a store-house for coals. Facing the lane leading from Richmond Green to the river was a chamber called "the plumbery," and several other rooms and lodgings belonging to the clerk of the works.

The armoury was a square brick building, tiled, standing in the north-west corner of the great orchard at the side of the lane just mentioned, and was, before Prince Henry's time, used for a cistern-house. The bakehouse was a brick building that stood upon Richmond Green towards the west. The Green must, at this period, have had houses upon it; for the bakehouse is described as "lying between one messuage and tenement in the possession of Mr. Bentley, on the

south, and one other messuage and tenement in the possession of Mr. Roberts, on the north." Adjoining was the residence of the keeper of Richmond little park. The clock in the hall was much commended, as well as the arrangements for supplying the mansion with water, by

"Cisterns belonging to three several pipes of lead, coming from three several conduit heads; to wit, one of them coming from the conduit in New Park in Surrey, called the White Conduit; one other coming from a conduit in Richmond town fields, called the Red Conduit, and the other coming from a conduit, or spring, near the alms-houses in Richmond, close upon the river of Thames. The water coming into these two cisterns is by several small branches conveyed into all the principal rooms of Richmond Court, and is of singular use thereunto."

We now come to the pleasure-grounds. The privy-garden contained three roods and twelve perches, and was surrounded by a brick wall twelve feet high. In the middle was a round knot divided into four quarters, edged with box for flowers; in the centre of which was a fair ewe (yew) tree, &c. On the wall were sixty-one fruit-trees. There was a leaden cistern with a pipe to furnish the garden with water. The privy-orchard contained thirty-nine fruit-trees; and there was a pigeon-house in the housekeeper's yard. The great orchard was cut out into a large square, and a little triangle, all planted with cherry and other fruit-trees, to the number of 223. There was also a handsome bird or turtle cage, wherein turtle-doves were still kept. The

actual position and extent of the palace and grounds are thus determined :—

"The whole messuage called 'Richmond Court' is bounded by Richmond Green upon the north, with a lane leading from the Green to the Thames on the west, with the river upon the south-west, and a parcel of land called the Friary upon the south, with a way or lane leading from Richmond Green into the Friary, upon the east, and contains, upon admeasurement, ten acres, one rood, and ten perches. All that parcel of impaled ground commonly called Richmond Little Park, lying and being within the said parish of Richmond, bounded with the town-field of Richmond on the east and north-east, with certain lands in the possession of the Earl of Ancram, upon the north, with the river of Thames. The walls of the late monastery of West Shene, and two meadows thereunto adjoining called the great and little meadows, upon the west, and with the palace of Richmond and Richmond Green upon the south and south-east, contain in the whole, upon admeasurement, 349 acres, one rood, and ten perches of land."

There were several other outlying buildings belonging to the palace, of which the survey furnishes these details :—

"All that messuage, dwelling-house, or lodge, with the appurtenances, situate, lying, and being in or near about the midst or middle part of the said park, consisting of one handsome brick building, tiled, and guttered with lead, containing a hall, paved with square tiles ; a parlour, floored with boards, and wainscotted round ; a buttery, and two cellars under it ; two ground chambers, two closets, and a passage, also floored with boards ; one handsome dining-

room, well-floored, lighted, and seeled; a withdrawing-room, wainscotted round; three chambers, and three closets, all floored with boards, very well lighted, and seeled; and seven garrets, all floored with boards, and very well lighted and seeled, and very fit for present use."

There was also a brick building, stable for ten horses, with a boarded loft over the same for hay; a pigeon-house, and a coach-house at the end; a capacious barn, a garden called the house-garden, containing more than sixty perches of land, fenced part with bricks and deal boards, having, at the east, a little garden-house, within which there were planted twenty-eight wall fruit-trees, seventy-six fruit-trees, and two Cypress-trees, "in a very decent manner." There was another garden, called the kitchen-garden, containing thirty perches of land, wherein were forty-four fruit-trees. In addition was a court before the lodge, walled on each side with brick, and possessing "a fair gate of good ornament to the house." There was another court, lying between the lodge and the kitchen building, containing, upon admeasurement, three roods and five perches of land with the appurtenances, in Richmond; while the Friars, adjoining to the Palace on the south, contained three acres and two roods. Finally, there is another valuable consideration:—

"*Mem.*—That the passage of water, called Richmond Ferry, with all and singular profits, commodities, and advantages thereunto belonging or appertaining, were, by the late King James, by his letters patent, bearing date at Westminster, the 9th day of March, in the fourth year of his

reign over England, granted and demised unto Edmund Cooke and Edmund Sawyer, of London, gentlemen, to have and to hold to their heirs, executors, and assigns, from the feast of the Annunciation of Mary the Virgin, which was in anno Domini, 1622, for forty years thence next ensuing, and fully to be completed and ended, yielding and paying, therefore, yearly, during the said term, at the feast-days of Michael the Archangel and the Annunciation of Mary the Virgin, into the receipt of the King's exchequer, the sum of thirteen shillings and fourpence, by even and equal portions."

Finally, we are informed:—

"Richmond Green contains twenty acres, more or less, excellent land, to be depastured only with sheep; it is well turfed, is level, and a special ornament to the Palace. There are here one hundred and thirteen elm-trees, forty-eight standing all together on the west side, and include in them a very handsome walk. There belongs also to the said Manor of Richmond a piece of common, or uninclosed ground, called Kew-green, lying within the township of Kew, containing about twenty acres." [22]

The valuation amounted to 10,782*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* for the materials. The property was sold on the 12th of April, 1650, to Thomas Rookesby, William Goodrick, and Adam Baynes, for themselves and other creditors of the late King, but was subsequently transferred to Sir Gregory Norton, one of his judges, "a man but of a mean fortune before these times, as it is said had

[22] "Monumenta Vetusta." Published by the Society of Antiquaries.

Richmond House and much of the King's goods for an inconsiderable value, only they were the price of Royal blood, he being one of the prince's judges, and a constant rumper to the last."[23]

In the abstract of the sale of the pictures from the different palaces, published by Mr. Dallaway,[24] those at "Wimbledon and Greenwich" are said to have realized 1,709*l.* 19*s.* It ought to read "Wimbledon and Richmond,"—for further on, those at Greenwich, two hundred and thirty in number, are valued at 13,780*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*; and those known to have been in Richmond Palace are not mentioned, though Walpole expressly names Richmond in his list of the Royal residences.

The mansion was not entirely dilapidated at this period; but to the loyal residents in the neighbourhood its condition, robbed of all its regal grandeur, must have presented a melancholy spectacle. The republicans of the Barebones stamp, who now, in their Puritan garb, thrust themselves into all places of credit and influence, scowled at "the malignants" as they stalked past them; and, muttering a brief anathema on "the man, Charles Stuart," glanced with open satisfaction at the ruined palace, and went their way rejoicing.

Sir Gregory Norton could not have had a very lively residence. Whether he found the place haunted by the ghost of his decapitated sovereign is not known, but he did not long enjoy his purchase. In 1652 he

[23] "The Mystery of the Good Old Cause briefly Unfolded." London, 1660.

[24] "Anecdotes of Painting in England," i., 287. Note.

found a grave where he had hoped to find a home. The old park was sold separately to William Browne, gentleman, of London, for 7,048*l.*

The Government appears to have felt embarrassed by the possession of the remnant of the Royal family remaining in their hands; they might deface inscriptions, demolish statues, pull down palaces, and melt the regalia—but Royalty, that they could neither disfigure nor transform, existed in the kingdom. And while they were debating what they should do with the Princess Elizabeth, she died in her confinement, in Carisbrooke Castle, in September, 1650. Then they came to a resolution that her brother, Henry (Duke of Gloucester), the only child of Charles I. left in England, should be sent to Heidelburg for his education.[25] This was an improvement upon a vote of the preceding year, by which the two children were handed over to the Earl and Countess of Leicester, "as part of their family, and not otherwise."[26]

Notwithstanding the grave aspect of affairs, the Royalists of Richmond never lost heart; even after the apparent overthrow of their hopes at Worcester, they had private means of knowing that active spirits were at work for them in the very citadel of their great enemy. In other places they entertained each other by writing jocose extravagances, at the expense of his Highness the Lord Protector;[27] and the more daring ventured their attacks in print.

[25] "Parliamentary History," iii., 1356. [26] Ibid., 1316.

[27] "And shall that oily nose at last go for the Lord's annointed?

Though the Puritans generally chose to be distinguished by the formal sobriety of their apparel, to contrast themselves as much as possible with "the malignants," their leaders never closely followed this fashion. The noblemen in the service of the Parliament conformed but little to the Puritanic plainness of the zealots they commanded, though they carefully eschewed lovelocks and cavalier frippery; and even Cromwell, when firmly established in power, showed himself at Whitehall, and probably at Ham House, in a well-cut suit, in which the Court tailor, no doubt, had modified the latest fashion to accommodate itself to the

No; we have better terms to express so much desert by. It is the saint's *minimum quoddam naturalæ:* a Nol with the wisp—the least spark of light that ever man saw. Or take him in a more thundering way, it is error carbonadoed—the red dragon—the third great luminary—the Commonwealth's *noli me tangere*—the original sin of all new lights. If some lusty fly durst venture upon it, and blow it to purpose, you would soon see it spawn the maggots of a thousand young heresies, yet. The new Commonwealth is a mere excrement flown from it—it is the golden calf which the people were about setting up when Essex was upon Edgehill—Pandora's box with a cover; that which people rather gaze at than delight in, and wherewith they are mastered, like a company of jackdaws in the night at sight of a torch; were that quenched they would be at their nest again. It is Sampson's Foxes firebrands, and all beaten together into an intolerable nose—the state's hot-house, since the new act—the elephant of reformation that can easily catch all plots against the state on his snout—the Devil's breeches turned wrong side upwards, and clapped, by a mischance, to the general's face. But flies must not be too bold with the candle for scalding their wings. It is God knows what, and do what I can I must leave it the same I found it."—*Carey's Memorials of the Civil War*, ii., 226.

dignity of his Highness the Lord Protector.[28] Plainness, exaggerated into ugliness, may have characterised the costume of the zealots of both sexes, to whom the finery that had lately flaunted over the land suggested ideas of profligacy and misrule; but many of the best families made no alteration in their dress when at home—they never cut their hair to the Roundhead shape, and only assumed a plain garb when it was dangerous to appear publicly in their ordinary habiliments.

When Oliver came into this neighbourhood, it is not unlikely he brought with him his immortal secretaries, John Milton and Andrew Marvel.[29] The former, when gazing on the expansive landscape, may have conceived the idea of the glorious garden he describes with such graphic force in his great work. The latter may have derived from it that infinite love of nature which kept his soul honest and his heart pure; and made him subsequently insensible to the temptation of the thousand guineas brought by the Lord Treasurer Danby from the restored King, when content with the comforts of a narrow lodging in the Strand, and the three days' resource of a shoulder of mutton.[30] Pope must

[28] In 1440, Sir Philip Warwick describes him as very ordinarily apparelled in a plain suit, ill-made by a provincial tailor, and wearing linen that ought to have been sent to the laundress.

[29] Thompson—"Life of Andrew Marvel," 4to., 1777.

[30] An interesting portrait of this rare example of integrity in a corrupt age is in the possession of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Bart., at Knebworth.

have had this genuine patriot in his remembrance when he wrote:—

> "A wit's a feather and a fool's a rod,
> An honest man's the noblest work of God."

Though Marvel lived much at Highgate, and cared little for courtly company, the scenic attractions of a place so near must frequently have drawn him there; and it is not difficult to fancy that during their contemplation he wrote that beautiful hymn—

> "The spacious firmament on high,
> With all the blue ethereal sky,
> And spangled heavens—a shining frame,
> Their Great Original proclaim.
>
> Th' unwearied sun from day to day
> Does his Creator's power display,
> And publishes to every land
> The work of an Almighty hand.
>
> Soon as the evening shades prevail
> The moon pursues the wondrous tale,
> And nightly to the list'ning earth
> Repeats the story of her birth."

CHAPTER VIII.

The Restoration—Members of the Court resident at Richmond and the neighbourhood—Bishop Duppa—Ham House—The Cabal—Viscountess Mordaunt—The Royal Society—Sir William Temple.

THE loyal inhabitants of Richmond heard with wonderful equanimity of the death of Cromwell, and were not disposed to find fault with the abdication of his successor in the Protectorate; while they watched with feverish anxiety the movements of Monk, and waited with increasing interest for every fresh piece of intelligence that came from Holland. Charles II. landed, and many of them hurried to London to witness his triumphant return to his metropolis and kingdom. The city, with a happy facility that did them great credit, ignored everything that had connected them with the late usurpation; and, as a peace-offering, presented their monarch with the deeds of the Richmond Park

estate, averring that the corporation had only accepted the property as stewards for his Majesty.[31]

Like the prudent men they were, they did not say anything about the "large weighty basin and ewer of beaten gold" they had presented to the Lord General Fairfax—and the service of plate of the value of 300*l.*, with 200 broad pieces of gold, to the Lieutenant-General Cromwell, "as a testimony of the city's good affections."[32] Luckily for them, the Royal party seemed content to let bygones be bygones, or the Richmond restoration put them into good humour; for they enjoyed the pageant and entertainment prepared for them, and thoroughly "fraternised" with the Lord Mayor and aldermen.

As has been already intimated, the resort of the Royal family and the Court to Richmond had induced members of the aristocracy and other distinguished personages to have residences there; consequently, houses of considerable pretension increased in number during the seventeenth century, as well as mansions of the first class. Among the residents at the period of the Commonwealth was Brian Duppa, tutor to Prince Charles and chaplain to Charles I., successively Bishop of Chichester, Salisbury, and Winchester. His only work, "Holy Rules or Helps to Devotion, both in Prayer and Practice," in two parts, was not published till 1674. During his retirement he collected the writings of Ben Jonson, who died in 1637, apparently

[31] Whitelock's "Memorials," 701.

[32] "Parliamentary History," iii., 1315.

with a view to a collected edition. As Sir Kenelm Digby, another friend of Jonson's, occupied his leisure in the same way, he wrote to Dr. Duppa, mentioning the deceased poet in the highest terms. In one passage he writes:—

"Besides, I believe, if care of earthly things touch souls happily departed, that these compositions delivered to the world by your hand will be more grateful obsequies to his great ghost than any other that could have been performed at his tomb; for no Courts' decree can better establish a lawful claim in the secure possession of his right than this will him of his laurel, which, when he lived, he wore so high above all men's reach, as none could touch, much less shake, from off his reverend head."[33]

The share which Dr. Duppa had in the composition of "Eikon Basilike" cannot be ascertained with any certainty. It is allowed that he contributed the 16th and 24th chapters, the rest being the work of Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exeter, subsequently of Worcester.[34] Several books have been published *pro* and *con* on the subject of the King's authorship of this book. The Earl of Anglesea wrote a memorandum in a copy of the "Eikon Basilike," stating that Charles II. and the Duke of York assured him that their father had not written it; Bishop Burnett states that the Royal brothers had

[33] MSS. Harleian, 4158, p. 21. "Private Memoirs of Sir Kenelm Digby," i., iii.

[34] "True Account of the Author of 'Eikon Basilike,' by Dr. Walker."

repeated their statement to him. Sir William Dugdale, with equal confidence, asserts that the MS. was commenced by his Majesty at Oxford, under the title of *Suspiria Regalia;* that it was lost at Naseby, but restored at Hampton Court; that it was with the King at Carisbrook Castle, where one of the attendants saw the King writing in the copy which Bishop Duppa, by the King's order, sent to Royston, a bookseller, in Ivy Lane, on the 23rd of December, 1648, who published it before the King's execution. Royston, another authority, told Sir William Dugdale that the MS. was brought to him by Mr. Edward Symmons; and Dr. Walker avers that he received it from Dr. Gauden, and took it himself to the printer.[35] About as pretty a bundle of contradictions as ever appeared in type; and we quite agree with the historian Hume, that "the proofs brought to evince that this work is or is not the King's are so convincing, that if an impartial reader peruses any one side apart, he will think it impossible that any arguments could be produced sufficient to counter-balance so strong an evidence; and when he compares both sides, he will be some time at a loss to fix any determination."[36]

The great difficulty in the way of believing the King wrote it is, the extent of his correspondence, and the harassing life he led subsequently to the commencement of the MS.; but it is not at all improbable that he added to the composition or altered it, after having

[35] Nichol's "Literary Anecdotes," i., 522.

[36] "Hist. of England," vii., 160.

accepted the literary services of Dr. Duppa, or of any other divine who might be in attendance, up to the time of his imprisonment in the Isle of Wight. Milton is accused of having interpolated a prayer from Sir Philip Sydney's "Arcadia" into an edition published after the King's decapitation, but on an authority that is not trustworthy. Whoever has the best claim to the authorship—and we are more inclined to award the honour to the author of "Holy Rules, or Helps to Devotion," than to the writer of those inflated productions that bear the name of Gauden—very few productions have been so immediately popular; no less than fifty editions in different languages having been brought out within a year of its first publication. This proves at least that the King's name was still a "tower of strength" to the bookseller.

After the death of his Royal master, Dr. Duppa retired to Richmond, where he led an unobtrusive, but not an unobservant life. He may have been in communication with Lady Dysart, and other friends of Charles II. living in the neighbourhood; but if he did so, he took care not to draw upon himself the attention of the regicides, one of whom had settled close to him, in a position that could scarcely have failed to excite his indignation. At the Restoration, he participated in the benefits which the Royalists at least obtained by the change—for he was appointed to the bishopric of Winchester, and made Lord Almoner, by his Royal pupil. As if to mark his gratitude for the safety and repose he had enjoyed in the district in a time of

danger,[37] in the year 1661 he caused to be erected on Richmond hill a pile of buildings, as almshouses for ten poor unmarried women, of the age of fifty and upwards; and, for funds for their maintenance, surrendered a freehold he had purchased for 1540*l.* The inmates were to receive 1*l.* monthly, the same sum at Midsummer and Christmas, a barn-door fowl and a pound of bacon each Christmas-day, and a gown of "bishop's-blue" every alternate year. This estimable man died at Richmond the following year, and, very much to his credit, his Royal pupil honoured him with a visit a few hours before he died.

Ham House was built at the expense of Sir Thomas Vavasour, Knight, marshal of the household to James I. He had previously been in the military service of Queen Elizabeth, by whom he had been knighted, and presented with some valuable monopolies. He was in 1611 appointed by James I. a Judge of the Marshal's Court, having for his colleague Sir Francis Bacon. The mansion was finished about a year before this.

There is every reason to believe that Sir Thomas resided here with his family when Prince Henry was at Richmond, though his children appear to have been born in the parish of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, London. It has been stated by Lyson,[38] and recently repeated, that Ham House was intended as a residence for Prince Henry; but there seems no authority for this. Sir

[37] On the almshouses he placed a tablet with the following inscription:—"I will pay my vows which I made to God in my trouble."

[38] "Environs of London," i. 238.

Thomas Vavasour was created a Baronet in 1628; but before this time he had purchased several small properties, which he united into one estate; and they were made over to John Ramsay, Earl of Holdernesse, who died about the year 1624. In 1637 the manor, which had reverted to the Crown on the death of Prince Henry, was granted by Charles I. on lease to his groom of the bedchamber, William Murray, nephew to Sir Thomas Murray, his secretary when Prince of Wales,[39] which William Murray was in 1646 created Baron Huntingtower, and Earl of Dysart, in the peerage of Scotland.[40] There exists some doubts respecting this peerage—as in

[39] Burke in his "Peerage," art. *Dysart*, states that William was the son of Sir Thomas Murray.

[40] William Murray married Catherine Bruce, by whom he had five daughters (Burke, in his "Peerage," allows her but two), Elizabeth, Katherine, Anne, Mary, and Margaret married to William Lord Maynard. The Court Rolls, preserved at Ham House, show that Robert Lewis, of Gray's Inn, London, in 1634, held the customary messuage, with other lands, tenements, and hereditaments in Petersham, of Sir Thomas Vavasour, Knight, late in the possession of John, Earl of Holdernesse, and then in the tenure of William Murray, for and during the life of the Lady Martha, Countess of Holdernesse, subsequently the wife of Montagu Lord Willoughby; and that Robert Lewis surrendered to Catherine, wife of William Murray, all the estate to be disposed of as she should think fit; which estates, after the marriage of her daughter Elizabeth with Sir Lionel Tollemache, were invested in three trustees for their benefit and for *her* heirs. They came into joint possession at the decease of Lady Catherine and her husband, in which they remained till the year 1669, when Sir Lionel died, and his widow became sole inheritrix, her exclusive right being strengthened by a release in Court from the heir-general of the Ramsay family.—Britton and Brayley's *History of Surrey*, iii., 118.

all cotemporary documents, and on a monumental brass plate preserved at Ham House, he is named William Murray. According to one authority, the patent had been signed at Newcastle;[41] the King had then surrendered himself to the Scots, which may perhaps account for the peerage being limited to Scotland—but it is dated at Oxford, for the purpose, as Burnet states, of giving the possessor precedence of persons with whom he was at enmity. That he was sometimes styled Earl of Dysart there does not appear to be any doubt. He died in the year 1651, having survived his lady nearly two years, and the character the great historian of these times has preserved of him is far from being an elevated one.

According to the arrangement already mentioned, he was succeeded in his estates by his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, who married Sir Lionel Tollemache, Bart., of Helmingham, Suffolk. She contrived to maintain considerable influence during the Commonwealth, and was of such service to the Royal cause, that, at the Restoration, Charles II., by a patent dated December 5, 1660, created her a peeress of the same rank and precedency as were possessed by her father, with remainder to such of her children as she should name—or, should there be no such nomination, to the eldest. Lady Dysart, also, in 1666, received grants of some of the Crown lands at Ham and Petersham. Three years subsequently her husband died; and in February, 1671-2, she married John, Earl of Lauderdale, who, in the

[41] Burnet's "History of his Own Times," i., 244.

following May, obtained letters patent, granting the manors or lordships of Petersham and Ham, in fee simple. In the same month of the ensuing year, Lord Lauderdale was raised in the Scottish peerage to the Marquisate of March and the Dukedom of Lauderdale. The Duke was for a considerable period one of the most influential ministers of the Crown. Ham House became the focus of political intrigue; and five noblemen, the initials of whose names formed the word *Cabal*, were associated with its possessor in transactions that are much dwelt upon by cotemporary historians.

In the year 1674, the Duke of Lauderdale was raised to the English peerage by the titles of Baron of Petersham and Earl of Guildford. These honours, however, died with him in 1682, and the estates fell to his widow, who survived till 1698. Had the Duchess preserved a record of what had passed under her observation, or within the circle of her influence, it would have been an invaluable political authority, and one of the most interesting pictures of society and manners extant. Her recollections would have commenced with the last years of the reign of James I., and have included the reigns of Charles I., the period of the Protectorate, and the reigns of Charles II., James, and William and Mary; including also many state secrets of which she must have become cognizant, and political transactions in which her Grace was an active agent.[42] She left an account-book full of items of much interest.

[42] The Duchess had no family by her second husband; but by Sir Lionel Tollemache she had three surviving sons and two

The mansion is a fair specimen of the architectural taste prevailing at the commencement of the seventeenth century; and its external attractions are enhanced by the picturesque avenues of trees that almost surround it. One stretches from the centre of Ham common to the decorated iron gates, where it is met at right angles by another that continues to Petersham, and half-way down it a third leads to the river. Many of the trees are tall, and, being peculiarly rich in foliage, supply shady walks that have been a favourite resort of many generations of visitors, and umbrageous scenes that have been equally popular with landscape painters and amateur artists.

The interior, however, is by far the chief attraction of the place, for it still retains the rich aspect it possessed when it became the head-quarters of political intrigue in the luxurious days of the Merry Monarch. Its tapestry hangings are of James the First's time; but the fire-dogs, inlaid floors, tables, and other furniture, carvings, paintings, and decorations, are chiefly of the date of the Restoration. Conspicuous among its principal apartments is the Queen's audience-chamber, hung with tapestry enriched with designs in the manner of Watteau, representing those French visions of Arcadia usually

daughters; of the former, the first, Sir Lionel Tollemache, Lord Tollemache, succeeded to the Petersham estates; Anne, the eldest daughter, married James Steward, second Earl of Bute; and the second, Elizabeth, Archibald, Lord Lorn, first Duke of Argyle. The latter resided at Ham House, where their two sons, both of whom in succession succeeded to the Dukedom, were born. The family subsequently lived at Subbrooke Park, a mansion nearer Richmond.

styled *fêtes champêtres.* Topographers appear to be in some doubt as to which of our Queens gave a name to this apartment, and somewhat hesitatingly claim it for Catherine of Braganza, because Charles the Second occasionally resided here during his visits to Richmond;[43] but with quite as much authority, on the same grounds, it can be claimed for Anne of Denmark, Henrietta Maria, and one or two more royal ladies, whose husbands are known to have paid visits to Richmond.

The Queen's audience-chamber is also called the Cabal-chamber—a title more easily traced to its source. The despotic clique who misgoverned England in the name of their thoughtless sovereign held their councils here, and here fashioned their policy. They formed a group that come forward with unpleasant prominence in the history of this discreditable time.

It is a question whether any female exercised greater influence in that troublous period—about the middle of the seventeenth century—than Elizabeth, Countess of Dysart. She owed this partly to her beauty, no doubt, of which convincing evidence exists in her portrait by Vandyke; but in much greater part, we are inclined to believe, to her talents. She was a brilliant star in the Court of Charles I.; and the power of her fascinations must have been great indeed, if, according to more than one authority, they thawed the icy heart of Cromwell. Her husband was taken prisoner by the Puritan General at the battle of Worcester, and would have been executed with little ceremony, had not his lady rapidly

[43] Britton and Brayley's "History of Surrey," iii., 122.

proceeded to Cromwell's quarters, and, as is stated, so successfully employed her charms, that the victor at once became the slave. She made no scruple in subsequently informing her husband by what means she had procured his pardon; but whether she gave him a faithful relation of her conduct during the period she contrived to hold the General in captivity, we have no means of judging. It has, however, been stated that the frequent visits of the Lord Protector to the beautiful Countess created such an amount of scandal among the severer Puritans, that he was forced to discontinue them.[44]

This scandal, however, may be set at rest by examining the genealogy of the Lord Protector, by which it will be at once seen that he was Lady Dysart's kinsman—Sir Lionel Tollemache, in the reign of James I., having married Katherine, daughter of Henry, second Lord Cromwell.

Her influence was of important service to the Royalists during the Protectorate, and assisted materially in producing the Restoration. There are many papers preserved among the family archives that would in a remarkable manner illustrate this period of English history, but unfortunately for the public no antiquary has been allowed access to them as historical materials, and it is only through some peculiarly favoured channel that the fact has been allowed to ooze out of such important MSS. being in existence.

It is strange that though Lady Dysart is accused of carrying on an intrigue with Cromwell, she does not

[44] Jesse's "Memoirs of the Stuarts," iii., 78.

figure in one of those scandalous publications, in which great liberties are taken with the ladies of the time, both royalist and republican.[45] Nor subsequently does she appear in the better known but equally imaginative and scurrilous narrative of Comte Grammont, or rather of Anthony Hamilton. The first, literally, of the coterie that assembled in the apartments of the Duchess was a member of the Court, who among other offices had filled that of Comptroller of the household, Treasurer, and Secretary of State. Sir Thomas Clifford was ennobled by his Royal master with the title of Baron Clifford, of Chudleigh, on the 22nd April, 1672. He had become a Catholic before the Restoration, and enjoyed the reputation of being familiar with all the plots in which certain of his co-religionists were engaged during this reign.

The second was Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, raised to the peerage on the 20th April, 1661, as Baron Ashley, of Wimbourne, St. Giles'. Ten years later he was created Earl of Shaftesbury, and a few months subsequently became Lord Chancellor. Though deeply mixed up with the objectionable proceedings of the Government at this time, he was afterwards so strenuous an opponent of the Court, that for his own safety he was obliged to retire to Holland, where he died in 1683. His name ought to be dear to Englishmen, for to him they are indebted for that safeguard against arbitrary rule, the Habeas Corpus Act.

[45] "Diverse Remarkable Passages of the Ladies at Spring Garden in Parliament Assembled." Somers's "Tracts," but first printed in 1647, 4to.

The third member of this cabal was George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, son of the powerful favorite of James I. and Charles I. Few persons commenced life under greater advantages of fortune and position, and we might look in vain for a similar instance of great advantages so grossly abused. He possessed talent in excess, and wasted it as lavishly as he did his patrimony. He was totally void of principle, and acted as if satisfied that honesty was out of fashion, and virtue obsolete. How he lived cotemporary writers have informed us, and how he died a poet of a later time has chronicled, in a passage that, however exaggerated, will never cease to be quoted as the fit end of so prodigal a life. His Duchess, Mary, the sole heiress of Thomas Lord Fairfax, he neglected for some of the more dissolute of the ladies who belonged to Charles II.'s dissolute court—his seduction of the wife of Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and subsequent slaughter of the injured husband in a duel, while the partner of his guilt held his horse, is only one of the bad incidents of his bad life.[46]

[46] "In the worst inn's worst room, with mat half hung,
The floor of plaster, and the walls of dung,
On once a flock-bed, but repaired with straw,
With tape-tied curtains never meant to draw,
The George and Garter dangling from that bed,
Where tawdry yellow strove with dirty red,
Great Villiers lies! Alas! how changed from him,
That life of pleasure and that soul of whim;
Gallant and gay in Clevedon's proud alcove,
The bow'r of wanton Shrewsbury and love;
Or just as gay in council, in a ring
Of mimicked statesmen, and their merry King;

The youngest of the first Duke of Buckingham's brothers, Edward, had proved himself an officer of distinguished gallantry during the Civil wars, and received the honour of knighthood from Charles II.—was appointed by him knight-marshal of the household, as well as governor of Tynemouth Castle. He married Frances (youngest daughter of Theophilus, Earl of Suffolk) who was afterwards the governess of the Princesses Mary and Anne; and the King gave to Sir Edward a grant of the manor and mansion of Richmond, where they often resided during the progress of their education.[47]

There was another branch of this family that felt the influence of the Royal sunshine, and deserved it better. Sir Edward Villiers, the second son of the

> No wit to flatter, left of all his store,
> No fool to laugh at, (which he valued more);
> There victor of his health, of fortune, friends,
> And fame, the lord of useless thousands, ends."
>
> POPE.

[47] At his death in 1689, his eldest son Edward succeeded as knight-marshal of the household; and, after the accession of William and Mary, was knighted, then ennobled with the rank of Baron Villiers of Hoo, and Viscount Villiers of Dartford; and on being appointed Ambassador-Extraordinary to the States-General of Holland, was raised to the Earldom of Jersey (13th Oct., 1697). Queen Anne appointed him lord-chamberlain of her household. By his wife, Barbara Chiffinch, daughter of Charles II.'s keeper of the closet, he had two sons; the eldest, William, succeeded at his death (25th Aug., 1711) to the Earldom. His second son, Thomas, became Earl of Clarendon. Mary, the only daughter of the first Earl, married for her second husband Thomas Granville Lord Lansdowne.

Duke of Buckingham's father, by his first wife (Audrey, heiress of William Sanders, Esq., of Harrington, Northamptonshire), by his half-brother's interest was appointed ambassador to the Court of Bohemia in 1620, and, two years subsequently, president of Munster in Ireland, where he made himself popular by his wisdom and moderation. His eldest son, William, at his death, September 7, 1626, succeeded to his estate, and by the decease of his mother's brother, Viscount Grandison, in her right, to that title. Lord Grandison fought for Charles I., and received a wound at Bristol, of which he died in August 1643. He left, by his wife Mary, daughter of Paul, Viscount Bayning, an only daughter, Barbara, married to Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemain, whose position in the Court of Charles II. must be familiar to every one.

The fourth member of the cabal was Henry Bennett, raised to the peerage 14th of March, 1663, as Viscount Thetford, and Earl of Darlington. He was much in favour with the King, who conferred on him the order of the garter; and the Earl's only daughter and sole heiress, Lady Isabella Bennett, married the King's natural son, by Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland—the Duke of Grafton.

The fifth was the Duke of Lauderdale. Whatever may have been the reputation of his colleagues, the character of the Duke appears to have been the least to be coveted. Bishop Burnet draws his portrait with anything but flattering features—describing him as so big, awkward, and ill-mannered, as to be totally unfit for a

Court; yet a great scholar, extremely learned in the dead languages, in divinity, and in history, and possessed of what the Duke of Buckingham called "a blundering understanding"—haughty and imperious, a cold friend and a violent enemy, at one time affecting to despise wealth, at another surrounding himself with luxuries, and indulging in the most lavish expenditure. His administration is stated, by the same powerful pen, to have been more like the severity of an inquisition than the legality of justice.

At the Restoration Richmond partook largely of the general delirium. The loyal spirits in the neighbourhood, that had been restrained by the fear of Cromwell from a general attack upon the republican degraders of the old palace, gave loose to their joy at the change of affairs. A great drawback to their satisfaction was the state in which the Royal residence had been left; for it was necessary that something should be done to make the place once more fit to be the favourite resort of their legitimate princes. The old courtiers flocked back to their happy valley, and the young ones found their Arcadia in the revelries that recommenced here, under the auspices of their "Merry Monarch," at Ham House. Other members of the Court had, by this time, set up their rest in the neighbourhood. The dwelling of the monks of Shene had received a succession of masters after the dissolution of the religious houses. We have shown that Queen Mary did not allow it to remain in the possession of the powerful family that held it during the reign of her predecessor; but her

sister Elizabeth set aside her arrangements for its restoration to its owners by granting it for life to Sir Thomas Gorges, and to Helen his wife. The Duke of Lennox received it on the same terms from Charles I. Soon after the Restoration a lease of the property was granted to Lord L'Isle, who assigned it to Lord Belasise. From him it passed to Sir William Brouncker, one of the gentlemen of the King's privy-chamber. He appears to have had a taste for ecclesiastical property, for he also procured a grant of the Monastery of Clonnis, at Monaghan, in Ireland. He had been Vice-Chamberlain to the King when Prince of Wales, and was created a peer of Ireland by the title of Baron Brouncker of Newcastle, and Viscount Brouncker of Lyons, in the county of Dublin. His mansion was the resort not only of the gay celebrities of the Restoration, but was visited by Evelyn and other persons of talent and reputation.

He died in the year 1645, and his son succeeding him after the Restoration, his mansion at Richmond became the resort of persons who shared in the scientific tastes the second Lord Brouncker was known to possess. Indeed, all who could escape from the political agitation of the metropolis, were glad to seek the security and quietude that prevailed in what remained of the old monastery. Here came Dr. Wilkins; he married Oliver Cromwell's sister, long before he became a bishop—and Dr. Wallis, before he became the Savilian professor of geometry at Oxford. Here came Christopher Wren, before his appointment of professor of

astronomy at Gresham college, long before he became the architect of the half-burnt capital, or had married a second wife in Viscount Fitzwilliam's daughter. Here came the philosophic Hooke, the virtuous Evelyn, and other excellent scholars, who formed themselves into a society for scientific discussion; which subsequently met at Oxford and London, and after the Restoration was regularly organized as the Royal Society, of which Lord Brouncker was the president —this honourable office he held for fifteen years.[48]

Though the King honoured the Society with his patronage, its pursuits were not likely to attract much of his attention. It has been stated that he attended one of the meetings, when he who "never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one," gravely enquired, "why it was a bowl full of water did not weigh any more when a live fish was put into it?" Some of the fellows appear to have hesitated, but one who was not so easily confounded by Royal questions, at once declared that the proposition could not be maintained.

Sir Hugh Cholmondely originally embraced the side of the Parliament, by whom he was placed in command of Scarborough, which he not only surrendered to the King, but marched with a troop of horse to the assistance of the Queen, whose hand he kissed at York, in March, after her return to England.[49] He was the younger brother of Robert, created Baron Cholmondely

[48] He died at the age of 64, in the year 1684. His portrait hangs in the large room of the Society at Burlington House.

[49] "Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria," 176.

by Charles I. After this each successive Cholmondely appears to have trod the same path in the road to honour; for the Baron's son was created a Viscount in 1660, his son Hugh a Viscount and Earl in 1706, and his brother George, who subsequently succeeded to the earldom, an Irish then an English Baron in 1714 and 1716.[50] Very rarely indeed have so many marks of distinction been lavished upon the members of one family in so short a period.[51]

Another fortunate courtier of the time who had taken up his rest in this locality was Villiers, Viscount Grandison, a member of the happy family that had flourished so luxuriantly in the reign of James I. His claim to attention in the reign of his grandson lay in his being brother to one of his mistresses, Lady Castlemain; his claim to the respect of the present age exists only in the fact that his grand-daughter was the mother of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.[52] Barbara, his too celebrated sister, was created, in 1670, Baroness Nonsuch, in the county of Surrey, Countess of Southampton, and Duchess of Cleveland; at this period she

[50] Burke's "Peerage."

[51] George, the eldest son of the second Earl, married the daughter of Sir Robert Walpole—but, except becoming a Knight of the Bath, contributed nothing to the family dignity. His grandson, however, was created Earl of Rocksavage, and Marquis of Cholmondely, on the 22nd of November, 1815; was a Knight of the Garter, Lord Steward of the household, and Chamberlain of Chester.

[52] This kind of bane and antidote may be traced in several families. A marked instance exists in the infamous Countess of Somerset, whose grand-daughter was Lady William Russel.

was permitted to inhabit the palace whence her first title was derived.[53]

Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyll, when a young man, was a Protestant, and was defeated by the Catholic Earls of Huntley and Errol, at Glenlivat, in 1594. Nevertheless, he became a Catholic in 1619, when he entered the service of Spain as an adventurer. In a copy of Archbishop Spottiswood's history, Sir Walter Scott found the following lines in MS. :—

> "Now Earl of Guile and Lord for Lorn thou goes,
> Leaving thy native Prince to serve his foes ;
> No faith in plaids, no trewth in tartan trews,
> Camelion-like, they change a thousand hues." [54]

He subsequently was permitted to return to England, appeared at Court, and survived till 1638. His eldest son, after assisting at the coronation of Charles II. at Scone, proclaimed Cromwell, and supported his government; for which he was beheaded after the Restoration, May 25th, 1661. The connection of this family with Richmond was rendered closer by the marriage of the grandson of the last Earl, Archibald first Duke of Argyll, with Elizabeth, daughter of the Duchess of Lauderdale, by her first husband, and by subsequent alliances, which will appear in the sequel.

It must not be imagined that in the brilliant throng

[53] Her children by Charles II. were Charles, created Duke of Southampton, Henry Duke of Grafton, and George Duke of Northumberland; the latter died young, the line of the elder brother expired with the death of the second and last Duke in 1774, but the ducal dignity of Grafton survives.

[54] Somers's "Tracts," 518. Note.

that daily made the park, gardens, and avenues of Richmond look like the scenes painted by Watteau and Lancret for the Court of France, all the men were profligates and the women wantons. There existed of both sexes characters possessed of the highest worth and intellectual attributes. The virtuous Evelyn, of Wotton, in Surrey, was one bright example; Lord William Russell another. Among females, Lady William Russell stands pre-eminent. Lucy Hutchinson had qualities worthy of a saint. Many others might be named, who were obliged to make their appearance in the motley assemblage of which the "Merry Monarch" was the acknowledged leader; but had nothing in common with the Buckinghams, Rochesters, Ethereges, Sedleys, Portsmouths, Clevelands, Gwynnes, and the rest of that dissolute circle in which his Majesty delighted.

If obliged to name a lady worthy of being coupled with the amiable Lucy Hutchinson, we should unquestionably select Elizabeth Viscountess Mordaunt, daughter and sole heiress of Thomas Carey, second son of Robert Earl of Monmouth, and mother of the adventurous and eccentric Charles Earl of Peterborough. She married John Mordaunt, the second son of the first Earl of Peterborough, who was brought to trial by Cromwell for exerting himself in the service of the exiled Charles II. and his lady, while he was kept a close prisoner, employed herself so effectually among the persons appointed to be his judges, some of whom she found not insensible to a "consideration," that they

were divided as to his guilt, and the president, Lisle, gave a casting vote in his favour. Mr. Mordaunt was liberated, and continued his loyal services with such extraordinary secresy and fidelity, that after the death of the Lord Protector, the King, to whom he had gone, employed him jointly on a confidential mission to General Monk, to the parliament, and to the corporation of London. In the communication he conveyed he was named "our right trusty and well-beloved cousin, the Lord Viscount Mordaunt," to which title he had been raised on the 10th of July, 1659. After the Restoration he was made Constable of the Tower and Lord-Lieutenant of Surrey. Lady Mordaunt was eminently pious, as is shown by her diary—in which she recorded for a long course of years her feelings and meditations—an extract from which will make the reader sufficiently familiar with the true womanly tenderness and genuine Christian benevolence of her character:—

"On the 2nd of June every year to keep a thanksgiving for the miraculous deliverance of my dear husband on that day from the peril of death; and on the same day to give 5*l.* in gold to the use of the poor, to acknowledge my husband's life and the comforts I received by it from God's hand, and to praise him for it. To dedicate to the use of the poor the tenth part of all the rent I shall receive from my own land of inheritance, which was my own before I was to marry."[55]

[55] "The Private Diarie of Elizabeth Viscountess Mordaunt,"

There are several entries of the same character, and all breathe the most fervent spirit of piety. Lord Mordaunt had a mansion and estate at Reigate, in Surrey, which had previously belonged to his mother. In the year 1655 he was impeached by the Commons for having executed the King's warrant. He died Jan. 5, 1675; his lady survived him only three years.

Sir Edward Hyde, the founder of many noble families, whose history is associated with that of Richmond, was Chancellor of the Exchequer and a member of the Privy-council of the first Charles, and Lord High-Chancellor in the reign of the second. He was created Baron Hyde of Hendon (3rd Nov., 1660), and Viscount Cornbury and Earl of Clarendon on the 20th of April of the following year. His claims to eminence as an author and as a statesman must be known to every reader; nor need we dwell upon the principal incidents in his career.

Sir William Temple, in the midst of his employments abroad, was eager to throw off the obligation of his service to the State, to be his own master in this attractive retirement. In a letter written during his embassy at Brussels, dated August, 1666, he assures his correspondent—

"That in the midst of a town, and with employment entertaining enough, and a life not uneasy, my imaginations were very often over the pleasures of the air, and of the earth, and of the water—but much more of the conversation at

1856. Privately printed. The original is at Tollymore Park, the seat of the Earl of Roden, in the county of Down, Ireland.

Shene; and they make me believe, that if my life wears not out too soon, I may end it in a corner there."

In another letter he says:—

"The test of it is, my heart is set so much on my little corner at Shene, that while I keep that, no other disappointment will ever be very sensible to me; and because my wife tells me she is so bold as to enter into talk of enlarging our dominions there, I am contriving here this summer how a succession of cherries may be continued from May to Michaelmas, and how the riches of Shene's vines may be improved by half-a-dozen sorts which are not yet known there, and which, I think, much beyond any that are. I should be very glad to raise and plant them next season." [56]

His wishes were gratified. Subsequently, Evelyn mentions the Temple cherry—and there is every reason to believe that the Temple grape was equally worthy of commendation.

As superior as Sir William Temple was to the Buckinghams and Sedleys who surrounded the King, his amiable wife possessed as great an advantage over the majority of the ladies of the Court. She was Dorothy, the beautiful daughter of Sir Peter Osborne, of Chicksands, in Bedfordshire, who, among other suitors, had counted Henry Cromwell, one of the sons of the late Lord Protector. Sir William had not only served seven years of courtship to her, but had written for her a sentimental romance in the style then fashionable for love stories—of which the young lady was a

[56] "Memoirs of Sir William Temple." By the Right Hon. P. C. Courtney. Two vols.

great reader. Their correspondence, written during this period, is more entertaining than anything in Madame de Scuderi. The fair heroine made an admirable wife—indeed, won the esteem of every one who knew her, capable of estimating true womanly excellences.

Sir William Temple's house at Shene was a favourite resort of his political and literary cotemporaries. Henry Sidney,[57] gentleman and master of the robes to Charles II., but better esteemed as the brother of Algernon Sidney, describes several visits to this mansion made by him in this reign. Sidney was a handsome man of pleasure, and mixed up in this and the succeeding reigns in intrigues of all kinds.[58]

Sir William was, in a manner, connected with the Royal establishment at Richmond, his father having married the sister of that celebrated divine, the Rev. Dr. Hammond, the son of Dr. Hammond, physician

[57] "Diary and Correspondence," edited by E. W. Blencowe, M.A. Two vols. 1843.

[58] William III. rewarded him for his services in effecting the Revolution, by creating him Earl of Romney, and giving him various appointments. With ladies he was almost irresistible; but one whom he used shabbily gave him a great deal of trouble, and put him to no slight peril. Writing on the 7th of September, 1682, to her cousin, Lord Brandon, Mistress Grace Worthley says:—"He (Sidney) will find that I have more than an ordinary soul, and though I cannot manage a sword, a pistol I can; and if he does not think good to make me some better satisfaction for the many years of my youth which he has obliged me to spend with him, *I shall pistol him, and be hanged for him.*"—*Sidney's Diary and Correspondence—Introduction,* xxxiii.

to Prince Henry. He was an active public man, whether as diplomatist or minister of state, and one of the very few persons employed in the government influenced by honest principles. The Prince of Orange appreciated both his talents and his virtues, and of this Prince Sir William entertained the highest opinion.[59] It is not strange, therefore, that when he found the ministers of Charles II. more and more thoroughly lost to every sense of moral dignity, as well as of patriotism, he should retire to Shene, with such remarkable words as these:—"And so I take leave of all those airy visions which have so long busied my head, about mending the world, and, at the same time, of all those shining toys and follies that employ the thoughts of many men, and shall turn them wholly to mend myself."

He had long seen that the world wanted mending, but it had become in so deplorable a state, that he despaired of being able to effect any improvement. He remained at Shene till the year 1686, keeping strictly aloof from the Court, except when Charles or James happened to be at Richmond, when he, as a matter of course, paid his respects to his sovereign.

Sir William Temple's opinion of the circle he had abandoned, to devote himself to the full enjoyment of his domestic happiness, and to the improvement of his Richmond property, is thus forcibly expressed by him:—

"I knew very well the arts of a Court are to talk the

[59] "Works of Sir William Temple," i., 194.

present language, to serve the present turn, and to follow the present humour of the Prince, whatever it is; of all these, I found myself so incapable, that I could not talk a language I did not mean, nor serve a turn I did not like, nor follow any man's humour, wholly against my own; besides, I have had, in twenty years' experience, enough of the uncertainty of Princes, the caprices of fortune, the corruptions of ministers, the virulence of factions, the unsteadiness of councils, and the infidelity of friends; nor do I think the rest of my life enough to make any new experiments."

Gardening, as far as regarded the arrangement of pleasure-grounds and cultivation of fruit and flowers, became a pursuit with many distinguished persons in England. Bacon made it a favourite subject and a favourite study. Sir William Temple so beautified his portion of the forfeited lands of the Monks of Shene with his improvements in this direction, as to call forth the praise of Evelyn, who was the horticultural and arboricultural oracle of his time; and by his publications, as well as by his example in Surrey, gave a powerful impulse to the taste, then coming into fashion. Ham House was equally praised by him. The more spacious grounds belonging to Richmond Palace, and the Queen's house at Wimbledon, under the superintendence of Turner and Parkinson (author of "Theatrum Botanicum"[60]), were made to display all the resources of the new art. These examples were

[60] His "French Gardener, instructing how to Cultivate all sorts of Fruit-trees and Herbs for the Garden," was first published in 1658. Evelyn's "Magnum Opusu Sylva, or a Discourse of Forest-

followed in the neighbourhood, till every mansion of any pretension could boast of its orchard and garden. Henrietta Maria was especially fond of gardening, and to her Turner dedicated his "Paradisi in sole Paradisus Terrestris," in 1629. Her Majesty cultivated oranges and lemons, and built a house for the reception of the trees in winter. In the year 1649 the grounds were broken up, and the trees sold; forty-two fruit-bearing orange-trees fetched 420*l.* 18*s.*; younger trees, 20*l.*, and one lemon-tree, 20*l.*[61]

The most charming result of this taste was the well-known poem, written in 1666, by Cowley, at Chertsey, and addressed most appropriately to his friend, Evelyn, called "The Garden," whom he thus apostrophises in the first stanza:—

> "Happy art thou, whom God doth bless
> With the full choice of thine own happiness;
> And happier yet because thou'rt blest
> With prudence how to choose the best.
> In books and gardens thou hast placed aright
> Thy noble, innocent delight;
> And in thy virtuous wife, whom thou again dost meet,
> Both pleasures more refined and sweet;
> The fairest garden in her looks,
> And in her mind the wisest books!
> O, who would change these solid joys,
> For empty shows and senseless noise;

trees," published in 1664, possesses a larger scope; but his "Kalendarium Hortense," which came out in the same year, and was very popular, soon became a text-book for all amateurs. The second edition was dedicated to the poet Cowley. His "Acetaria," "Terra," and "Pomona," are branches of the same subject.

[61] Phillips's "Pomarina Britannicum."

> And all which rank ambition breeds,
> Which seem such beauteous flow'rs, and are such
> Poisonous weeds."

The cultivation of the vine was, for a considerable period, regarded with much interest in England, and never more popular than at the period of the Restoration.[62] In Richmond a portion of the town still bears the name of one of the numerous attempts that had been there made to rival France as a wine-producing country. In the reign of Charles II., Mr. Rose, his gardener, published a work, called "Vineyard Vindicated." In his "Plan of a Royal Garden," Evelyn proposed a chapter on the vineyard, and the manufacture of wines and teas. George Loudon was Rose's apprentice; and, after studying in the Royal gardens at Versailles, was first head-gardener to Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, then succeeded his master in his employment under the Crown, and subsequently was appointed by Queen Mary superintendent of the Royal gardens, and page of the back stairs. To him especially is due the laying out of some of the finest gardens in England, as well as the Brompton-park garden and nursery.[63] Henry Wise, who laid out Blenheim, was his partner.

Conspicuous among the courtiers in the reign of the first Charles was Henry, second son of Sir Thomas Jermyn, his treasurer of the household. Henry was master of the horse to the Queen, was much in her

[62] "Pomarina Britannicum," 185, 3rd edition.

[63] An interesting account of some gardens near London may be seen in the 12th vol. of the "Archæologia."

Majesty's confidence during the troubles, and after her retirement to France, where he presided over her household. He had been created Baron Jermyn of St. Edmondsbury, Suffolk, September 8th, 1643, and was employed by Charles II. in several embassies, till the Restoration, when he was created, 27th of April, 1660, Earl of St. Albans. He was also made a knight of the garter, and appointed lord-chamberlain of the household.[64]

Sir Henry Rich, K.B., and K.G., was captain of the King's guard, and made a peer, by the title of Baron Kensington (March 8th, 1622), and (Sep. 24th, 1624), created Earl of Holland. He was Lord of the Manor and Mansion of Kensington (Holland House), in right of his wife, heiress of Sir Walter Cope. During the King's imprisonment in the Isle of Wight he organized the rising in the King's favour at Kingston, already noticed (July 7th, 1648), for which he suffered death, after the King's decapitation, 9th March in the following year.[65]

[64] He died in 1683, and was succeeded in the barony by his nephew, Thomas, who leaving no male issue at his death, in 1703, that title became extinct. His brother, Henry, was, on the 13th of May, 1685, created Baron Jermyn of Dover; but he died in the year 1708, also without heirs-male, and this title also became extinct.

[65] His elder brother, Robert, second Earl of Warwick, was an admiral in the service of the Parliament. Lord Warwick's eldest daughter, Anne, married the Earl of Manchester, who defeated Prince Rupert at Marston Moor; his second daughter, Lucy, married John Baron Robarts, subsequently Earl of Radnor; the youngest, Nicholas Earl of Scarsdale; and the eldest son of their elder brother, Robert, third Earl of Warwick, married Frances, Cromwell's youngest daughter.

CHAPTER IX.

Costume at Richmond — Pepys — Ladies and their Gallants—Evelyn's Contrast of the Courts of Charles the Second and of Queen Elizabeth—Voyage to Marry-land—Reform of the Royal Household—Lilly.

THE Merry Monarch was not satisfied with the prevailing fashion in dress; and it appears that Evelyn's "Tyrannus, or the Mode," published in 1661, impressed his Majesty in favour of the oriental style. Shortly after the great fire, we are told, "His Majesty put himself solemnly into the Eastern fashion, changing doublet, stiff collar, bands, and cloak, into a comely vest, after the Persian mode, with girdle or straps, &c., resolving *never to alter it*, and to leave the French mode, which had hitherto obtained, to our great expense and reproach." The Royal determination lasted but a short time—notwithstanding the King laid wagers that he would persist in it. Most probably its *coup de grace* was given by the

King of France, who dressed up his menials in the new Court costume of his good brother, the King of England.

Pepys visited Richmond in 1662, on his way to Hampton Court; but merely states that he walked from Mortlake.[66] In the July of the same year, he informs us that Lady Castlemain left her husband and went to her brother's, at Richmond, taking with her all her valuables, hoping that the King would follow her.[67] In 1663, the same delightful gossip tells us that the lady made the same journey, but not from her husband's house.

"Upon some slighting words of the King, she called for her coach at a quarter of an hour's warning, and went to Richmond; and the King the next morning, under pretence of going a hunting, went to see her and make friends, and never was a hunting at all; after which she came back to Court, and commands the King as much as ever, and hath, and doth, what she will."[68]

The diarist records another visit to Richmond by boat; and then "a very pretty walk" to Mortlake[69]—when he had stolen away to Kingston, in 1665, to escape from the plague, then ravaging London—but he does not indulge in any further description.

Evelyn, in writing to Aubrey, February 8, 1675-6, mentions Richmond among "divers other observable places," that the latter had not noticed in his work on

[66] Diary, i., 353.
[67] Ibid., ii., 6.
[68] Ibid., ii., 195.
[69] Ibid., iii., 44.

Surrey. This suggestion made him undertake another perambulation in 1692, the result of which was included, with his friend's letter, in his "Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey," published in five volumes, 8vo, in 1719; the first volume of which is embellished with a view of Richmond Palace.

Evelyn was a close observer of the Court, and his loyalty could not restrain him from writing some severe attacks upon its usages. The most amusing are to be found in his preface and notes to the "Mundus Muliebris, or the Ladies' Dressing-room unlocked, and her Toilette spread;" also styled "A Voyage to Marryland," a humorous poem, written by his daughter, Mary, who died of the small-pox on the 14th of March, 1685. The preface, he states, was written for the edification of the youthful gallant—

"Who, newly launched from the university (where he has lost a year or two), is not yet travelled; or, if haply he has made *le petit tour* (with the formal thing his governor, whom the French call *maitro des ours*—a bear-ward,) having never read Tully's 'Offices' through since he came from school, sets up for a *beau*, and, equipped for the town at his return, comes to seek adventures in an ocean full of rocks and shelves, and wants a skilful pilot to steer him as much as any vessel that goes to the Indies; and oftentimes returns home leaky, and as poorly freighted as those who have been near shipwrecked, or lost their lives."

Such adventurers were as common at Richmond as "servants," and the "refined ladies" he next refers to, and may there have attracted his notice; but whether

they profited by the following directions, we are unable to state on trustworthy authority :—

"The refined lady expects her servants and humble admirers should coach her in the forms and decencies of making love in fashion; in order to this, you must often treat her to the play, the park, and the music; present her at the raffle; follow her to Tunbridge at the season of drinking the waters —though you have no need of them yourself; you must improve all occasions of celebrating her shape, and how well the mode becomes her, though it is ne'er so fantastical and ridiculous; that she sings like an angel, dances like a goddess, and that you are charmed with her wit and beauty; above all, you must be sure to find some fault or imperfection in all other ladies of the town, and to laugh at the fops like yourself. With this, a little practice will qualify you for the conversation and mystery of the *ruelle;* and if the whole morning be spent between the glass and the comb, and your peruque fit well, and cravat-strings be adjusted as things of importance—with these, and the like accomplishments, you'll emerge a consummate *beau—Anglice*, a coxcomb. But the dancing-master will still be necessary to preserve your good mien, and fit you for the winter ball." [70]

Evelyn then proceeds to contrast the characteristics of the Courts of Charles the Second with those of Elizabeth :—

"Thus you see, young sparks," he tells the courtiers, "how the style and method of wooing is quite changed, as well as the language, since the days of our forefathers (of unhappy memory, simple and plain men as they were), who

[70] "Miscellaneous Writings of John Evelyn, Esq., F.R.S.," 4to, 1825, p. 699.

courted and chose their wives for their modesty, frugality, keeping at home, good housewifery, and other economical virtues then in reputation; and when the young damsels were taught all these in the country, and at their parents' houses, the portion they brought was more in virtue than money; and she was a richer match than one who could have brought a million—and nothing else to commend her. The presents which were made, when all was concluded, were a ring, a necklace of pearls, and perhaps another fair jewel—the *bona paraphernalia* of her prudent mother, whose nuptial kirtle, gown, and petticoat, lasted as many anniversaries as the happy couple lived together, and were at last bequeathed with a purse of old gold rose-nobles, spur-royals, and spankees—as an house-loom to her grand-daughter.

"They had cupboards of ancient useful plate," continues the faithful painter of an age replete with honourable recollections, "whole chests of damask for the table, and store of white Holland sheets (white as the driven snow), and fragrant of rose and lavender, for the bed; and the sturdy oaken bedstead and furniture of the house lasted one whole century, [probably half-a-dozen.] The shovel-board, and other long tables, both in hall and parlour, were as fixed as the freehold; nothing was moveable save joint stools, the black jacks, silver tankards and bowls; and though many things fell out between the cup and the lip, when happy ale, March beer, metheglin, malmsey, and old sherry, got the ascendant among the blue coats and badges, they sung 'Old Simon,' and 'Cheviot Chase,' and danced 'Brave Arthur,' and were able to draw a bow that made the proud Monsieur tremble at the whiz of the grey goose feather.

"'Twas then," he adds, with a sly fling at the foolish ex-

travagance and sordid meanness that disgraced his own age, "ancient hospitality was kept up in town and country, by which the tenants were enabled to pay their landlords at punctual day; the poor were relieved bountifully, and charity was as warm as the kitchen, where the fire was perpetual. In those happy days, 'Surefoot,' the grave and steady mare, carried the good knight—and his courteous lady behind him—to church, and to visit the neighbourhood; without so many hell-carts, rattling coaches, and a crew of lacqueys, which a grave livery servant or two supplied, who rid before and made way for his worship."[71]

The stern moralist cannot contain his indignation when he compares the ladies of the Court in these very different periods:—

"Things of use," he assures us, "were natural, plain, and wholesome; nothing was superlative—nothing necessary wanting; and men of estate studied the public good, and gave examples of true piety, loyalty, justice, sobriety, charity [not to be found in company with the Merry Monarch], and the good neighbourhood composed most differences. Perjury, suborning witnesses, alimony, avowed adulteries, and misses (publicly owned), [unfortunately then too common in high places], were prodigies in those days; and laws were reason, not craft. When men's titles were secure, and they served their generation with honour, left their patrimonial estates improved to an hopeful heir, who, passing from the free school to the college, and thence to the Inns of Court, acquainting himself with a competent tincture of the laws of his country, followed the example of his wor-

[71] "Miscellaneous Writings of John Evelyn, Esq., F.R.S.," 4to. 1825, p. 700.

thy ancestors; and if he travelled abroad, it was not *to count steeples*, and bring home feather and ribbon, and the sins of other nations, but to gain such experience as rendered him useful to his prince and his country upon occasion, and confirmed him in the love of both of 'em above any other."

It is evident from the foregoing that the writer had profited by his visit to the Priory of Richmond, adopting the ideas of Sir William Temple, with an undercurrent of scornful allusion to the vicious frivolities that flourished at Ham House. But we have not quite done with this "Hyperion to a Satyr." Another glimpse of the two pictures must here be added:—

"The virgins and young ladies of that golden age, *quæsierunt lanam et linum*, put their hands to the spindle, nor disdained they the needle; were obsequious and helpful to their parents, instructed in the managery of the family, and gave presages of making excellent wives. Nor then did they read so many romances, see so many plays and smutty farces, set up for visits, and have their days of audience and idle pastime: honest 'gleek,' 'ruff,' and 'honours' [games so called], diverted the ladies at Christmas, and they knew not so much as the names of 'ombre,' 'comet,' and 'basset' [gambling games much in request in the Court of Charles II.] Their retirements were devout and religious books, and their recreations in the distillery, the knowledge of plants and their virtues, for the comfort of their poor neighbours and use of the family, which wholesome plain diet and kitchen physic preserved in perfect health. In those days the scurvy, spleen, &c., were scarcely heard of, till foreign drinks and mixtures were wantonly introduced.

Nor were the young gentlewomen so universally afflicted with hysterical fits; nor, though extremely modest, at all melancholy or less gay in their good humour."

Reverting to their accomplishments, he adds:—

"They could touch the lute and virginal, sing 'Like the Damask Rose,' and their breath was as sweet as their voices. They danced the Canaries, Spanish Pavan, and Selenger's Round upon sippets, with as much grace and loveliness as any Isaac, Monsieur, or Italian of them all, can teach with his fop-call and apish postures."[72]

The poem called "A Voyage to Marry-land" then follows. It contains an amusing list of the contents of the wardrobe of a lady of fashion as she must have appeared at Richmond; the gentleman is regarded as an adventurer on the sea of courtship, and the articles of dress enumerated are considered as his proper cargo for the port of matrimony. It commences:—

"He that will needs to Marry-land
Adventure, first must understand
For his bark what tackle to prepare,
'Gainst wind and weather, wear and tear:
Of *point d'Espagne* a rich cornet,[73]
Two nightrails[74] and a scarf beset
With a great lace, a collaret;
One black gown of rich silk which odd is,
Without one coloured embroidered boddice;
Four petticoats for page to hold up,
Four short ones nearer to the crup;

[72] Evelyn's "Miscellaneous Writings," edited by Upcott, 4to., 701.

[73] In the "Fop Dictionary" this is a lace head-dress with flaps.

[74] Bedgowns.

Three manteaus, nor can madam less
Provision have for due undress;
Nor demy sultane,[75] spagnolet,[76]
Nor fringe to sweep the Mall forget."

The list of her wearing-apparel is too long for insertion. The reader must be satisfied with learning the nature and extent of her ornaments.

"A manteau-girdle, ruby buckle,
And brilliant diamond-rings for knuckle;
Fans painted and perfumed, three,
Three muffs of sable ermine gris;
Nor reckon it among the baubles,
A Palatine,[77] also of sables;
A sapphire bodkin for the hair,
Of sparkling facet diamond there;
Three turquoise, ruby, emerald rings
For fingers, and such pretty things
As diamond pendents for the ears,
Must needs be had; or two pearl pears,
Pearl necklace, large and oriental,
Of diamond and of amber pale;
For oranges bears every bush,
Nor values she cheap things a rush;
Then bracelets for her wrists bespeak,
Unless her heartstrings you would break;
Besides these jewels, you must get
Cuff buckles, and a handsome set
Of tags for Palatine; a curious hasp
The manteau 'bout her neck to clasp;
Nor may she want a ruby locket."

To these must be added, with innumerable other trifles—

[75] A gown trimmed with buttons and loops.
[76] A narrow-sleeved gown in the Spanish fashion.
[77] A tippet.

"Gloves trimmed and laced as fine as Nell's;
Twelve dozen Martial,[78] whole and half,
Of jonquil, tuberose (don't laugh)
Frangistan, orange, violet,
Narcissus, jasmin, ambrete,
And some of chicken skin for night,
To keep her hands plump, soft, and white."

The gentleman having supplied these *necessaries*, discovers that he has not provided one-half the proper equipment.

"Besides all these, 'tis always meant
To furnish her apartment
With Mortlake tapestry, damask bed,
Of velvet richly embroidered,
Branches, brassero,[79] cassolets,[80]
A coffre-fort[81] and cabinets,
Vases of silver, porcelain store,
To set and range about the floor;
The chimney furniture[82] of plate,
For iron's now quite out of date;
Portable screens, trunks, and stand,
Large looking-glass richly japanned;
An hanging shelf, to which belongs
Romances, plays, and amorous songs;
Repeating clocks the hour to show
When to the play 'tis time to go,
In pompous coach, or else sedan'd,
With equipage along the Strand;
And with her new beau Fopling manned."

This picture of luxury appears to have been sug-

[78] A Parisian glovemaker.
[79] A silver moveable grate.
[80] Perfumery pots.
[81] Box of precious wood, bound with silver, or silver-gilt.
[82] Fire-irons.

gested by the boudoir of the Duchess of Portsmouth. We have been obliged to miss many of the details, but must conclude with these additions:—

"But I had almost quite forgot
A tea and likewise chocolate-pot,
With molionet[83] and caudle cup,
Restoring breakfast to sup up;
Porcelane saucers, spoons of gold,
Dishes that refined sugars hold;
Pastillon di Bocca[84] we
In box of beaten gold do see,
Enchased with diamonds; and tweeze
As rich and costly as all these;
To which a bunch of onyxes
And many a golden seal there dangles,
Mysterious cyphers and new fangles;
Gold is her tooth-pick, gold her watch is,
And gold is everything she touches."[85]

While the Cabinet held its meetings at Ham House, or the Court remained at Richmond, the combination of gay colours exhibited by groups of both sexes, in their promenades in the neighbourhood, must have been very brilliant; not that much admiration is due to the *déshabille* then often conspicuously studied in female costume, or to the man-millinery that characterized the dress of the gallants—this was typical of the looseness and frivolity of both sexes; still a rich picturesque effect must have been given by the figures to the landscape: the gentlemen, with their feathered beavers

[83] Chocolate mixer.

[84] Perfumed lozenges so called.

[85] Evelyn's "Miscellaneous Writings," edited by Upcott, 4to. 709.

and flowing curls, their delicate lace bands, their richly embroidered cloaks and doublets, with deep ruffles, their petticoat breeches ornamented with ribands and lace, and high shoes—the ladies, with their elaborately-curled hair, low cut bodies with peaked stomachers, short sleeves, and thin flowing robes.

Variety was infinitely charming to the King; but his changes in gay apparel assisted materially in exhausting his exchequer, while they beggared most of his subjects who adopted them. Charles found no disgrace in receiving the money of Louis XIV., as well as his fashions; and many of his associates and counsellors took bribes or pensions from the French ambassador with equal indifference. Though the Puritans were kept down with an iron hand, they contrived occasionally to protest against the vice and folly prevalent in high places;[86] but "His Most Sacred Majesty," as he was then styled, was not a Protestant any more than his brother, the Duke of York, and troubled himself little with religious exhortations of any kind. His Majesty's favourite companions professed to be Christians, with quite as little attention to any particular form of faith. They would readily have become heathens, could they have brought the classic mythology into fashion—or Jews, if the King had established a synagogue; but as long as they were permitted to drink deep, play high, dress extravagantly, and outrage all moral obligations, they were as little

[86] Baxter's "Just and Seasonable Reprehension of Naked Breasts and Shoulders."

likely to think of a Future, as to profit by the Past.

Charles II. found it necessary to issue a new set of ordinances for the government of the Royal household,[87] and it is impossible to refrain from a smile at their severity against "idle and loose people" who presume to haunt the Court. One of the articles states that—

"If *any* of our Court shall be noised to be a profane person, an outrageous rioter, a ribald, a notorious drunkard, swearer, railer or quarreller, a fugitive from his master, a bankrupt, suspected for a pilferer or a thief, or be otherwise so vicious and unmannerly that he be unfit to live in *virtuous* and civil company, he is to be convened before his superior officer to be examined, and thereupon admonished or punished, as cause shall require; and such as are found incorrigible shall be banished."

It is to be hoped that the characters of some of the superior officers of the monarch's establishment were not too rigidly looked into, for it is just possible that they might turn out to be the incorrigibles there referred to. The knight-marshal is also commanded not to suffer "about or near our standing houses, any houses, tents, booths or places to be employed for tippling-houses, selling or taking tobacco, hot waters, or for *any* kind of disorder, which, besides the annoyance, live upon our house, and corrupt the meaner sort." Trustworthy evidence might be brought forward to show that the tippling-houses were nearer the

[87] Printed from the original MS. then in the possession of Mr. Astle, in the Society of Antiquaries.—*Ordinances and Regulations of the Royal Household*, 352.

palace than is implied in the Ordinance, that they were famous for *every* kind of disorder, and that some, at least, of "the meaner sort" were far less liable to corruption than their betters.

Great care seems to have been taken to prevent a too near approach to that Majesty which, even *with* its externals, delighted to be a jest. "No person of what degree soever shall presume to stand under our cloth of estate, or upon the half-pace, or to lean upon the table, or upon the side cupboard, nor to sit after the salt is upon the table; and when we are at table, no man shall presume to tread upon the carpet or half-pace," except only the customary attendants, or such as are of good rank and quality, who are known to the gentlemen-ushers.

When the entire absence of ceremony with which his boon companions often treated "old Rowley" is remembered, these regulations must appear to have been written only to have been disregarded. Although the King was not remarkable for strictness in his religious observances, he seems to have been careful that no person of inferior rank should sit in the Royal closet, in which only certain attendants on the King and Queen were allowed places. On the left, "the ladies of the Queen's bedchamber;" on the right, "the lady of the sweet coffer;" "the ladies of the privy-chamber" and "maids of honour" on the first form; "the mother of the dressers" on the second form; and "the maids of honour and the dressers of the Duchess of York" on the third form. It appears that great

indecency and irreverence had been committed by persons assembling there, talking aloud, and walking about during divine service—therefore these rules were drawn up to maintain decorum and order in the sacred building. One of these—"When we are present, no man shall presume to put on his hat at the sermon, but those in the stalls upon the left hand, who are noblemen or counsellors"—is quite inconsistent with modern ideas of reverence. Another can be better appreciated—"Noblemen and others shall observe great distance and respect to our person, and also civility one towards another; and those that are young shall not offer to fill up the seats from those which are either older or more infirm, or counsellors, though perhaps below them in rank."

In the ordinances for the table there are the usual creditable regulations for securing the broken meat for the poor; and there is one curious rule respecting the King and his attendants which we will transcribe :—

"The gentleman-usher is to command the cupbearer, carver and sewer, before they give their attendance upon the King's person, to wash their hands—the while they, with the gentleman-usher, *is* washing, every man in the Chamber is to be uncovered. After they have washed, the gentleman-usher is to call for a bowl of sack, which is called the gentleman-usher's bowl, and to drink to one of the gentlemen that have washed. After the carver hath his towel upon his shoulder, he and the gentleman-usher go together into the Presence-Chamber, where they make three *congees* at three several parts of the Chamber, and so come

to the board. The carver giveth the say (assay) of all that is upon the table to the yeoman of the mouth, at the gentleman-usher's right, and so the cupbearer doth at the cupboard of that which his Majesty drinketh—it being the gentleman-usher's charge to see the says taken."

Rules have already been given that were devised for the purpose of keeping off persons inclined to approach the Royal person too nearly—such are repeated in various forms. People are prohibited from coming too near the King's chair, from standing under his cloth of estate, from leaning on his bed, from approaching the cupboard where his cushion is laid, and from standing on his carpet. Even should his Majesty descend the steps of the *dais* to speak to any nobleman or gentleman, all persons near are to withdraw, or should be commanded to do so by the gentleman-usher.

"The serving of the King's "all night"—bread and wine, with which his Majesty might refresh himself during the hours between eight or nine at night, when it was brought to his chamber, and eight the next morning, when he was expected to rise—was the last act of personal attendance on the sovereign, except the unrobing, setting the watch, and providing the lights for the privy-chamber.

Gardens continued to be much esteemed at Richmond. The frontispiece to Evelyn's "Kalendarium Hortense," published in 1664, presents two views of a flower-garden of that time from opposite ends. In the first a cavalier and his lady, in the costume of Charles II., are proceeding to mount three or four circular

steps leading to an open doorway, at which stand full-length figures of Flora and Pomona; the vista seen through the door shews the arrangement of parterres and a central fountain, divided by terraces marked by recumbent lions. The other view shows the plots, with gardeners at work, the lord and lady, their little daughter, with a toy windmill, and a French poodle in the foreground. The garden is flanked by rows of trees; and in the broad central path are various persons, enjoying the beauty of the flowers; and in the distance is a background landscape backed by a steep hill.

Among the visitors to Richmond in the year 1678 was John Evelyn, who records in his diary that he dined at Henry Brouncker's, at the Abbey of Shene, formerly a monastery of Carthusians, there yet remaining one of their solitary cells, with a cross. "Within this solitary enclosure," he adds, "are several pretty villas and fine gardens of the most excellent fruits, especially Sir William Temple's (lately ambassador into Holland), and the Lord Lisle's, son to the Earl of Leicester, who has divers rare pictures—above all, that of Sir Brian Tuke's, by Holbein." These mansions possessed many attractions, which in Evelyn's hurried visit escaped his notice. On one in the neighbourhood he bestows more attention. "After dinner I walked to Ham to see the house and garden of the Duke of Lauderdale, which is, indeed, inferior to few of the best villas of Italy itself: the house furnished like a great Prince's; the parterres,

flower-gardens, orangeries, groves, avenues, courts, statues, perspectives, fountains, aviaries, and all this at the banks of the sweetest river in the world, must needs be admirable." [88]

Evelyn appears to have been on friendly terms with the Duke of Lauderdale, and lent him some MSS.; but as they were never returned, he expressed severe reflections upon Scots in general, and his lordship in particular.[89]

Richmond continued to be much visited. The courtiers thronged to Ham House—a less brilliant, but more intellectual assemblage of guests, to the Priory. The two houses were in opposition, but the one ridiculed the Temple philosophy, and retained power by gratifying Charles II. in his worst impulses; and the other retired from the contest, after having failed to remove the Duke of Lauderdale from the authority of which he was daily making the most mischievous use. On the 14th of July, 1679, Henry Sidney dined at Shene with Lord Sunderland and Sir Henry Capel, brother to the Earl of Essex,[90] and there held several conferences with Sir William and his friends before he took his departure for Holland, to which court he had been sent on a mission.

The extravagant expenditure of the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale occasioned so much embarrassment that the library, which was choicely bound,

[88] "Diary," ii., 122.

[89] Ibid., iii., 381.

[90] He had taken a house at Kew, where Evelyn visited him in 1678, who speaks highly of the choice garden and plantations.—*Diary*, ii., 122.

Evelyn states, was, in 1689, to be sold by the person to whom the books had been pawned.[91]

This confirms the statement of another cotemporary :—

"Not contented with the great appointments they had, she [the Duchess] set herself by all possible methods to raise money. They lived at a vast expense, and everything was set to sale. She carried all things with a haughtiness that could not have been easily borne from a Queen. She talked of all people with an ungoverned freedom, and grew to be universally hated."[92]

This may possibly be exaggerated, as well as the following notice of her husband :—

"My Lord Lauderdale is a man of mighty good reason and judgment. But at supper there played one of their servants upon the violin some Scotch tunes only ; several, and the best of their country, as they seemed to esteem them, by their praising and admiring them ; but Lord ! the strangest airs that ever I heard in my life, and all of one cast. But stranger still to hear my Lord Lauderdale say himself that he had rather hear a cat mew than the best music in the world : and that the better the music the more sick it makes him ; and that of all instruments he hates the lute most, and next to that the bag-pipe."[93]

The reputation of the famous Dr. Dee had scarcely faded from the minds of the credulous people of Richmond, when another celebrated astrologer came into the neighbourhood, and made a large proportion of the community

[91] "Diary and Correspondence," iii., 309.
[92] Burnet, i., 588.
[93] Pepys's "Diary," iii., 246

again anxious for glimpses of occult knowledge. This time, however, the object of popular superstition was no philosopher—he was an empiric; but a tolerably successful one, held in much esteem by noblemen and gentlemen, as well as by the multitude. He was William Lilly, who, after having been consulted with equal confidence by Royalists and Roundheads, towards the conclusion of his career retired to a property he had acquired at Hersham, whence the "cunning man hight Sidrophel," of Butler, according to a trustworthy account, "every Saturday rode to Kingston, where the poorer sort flocked to him from several parts."[94] This was, however, rather for medical than astrological advice.

Political controversy had not been set at rest by the restoration of the monarchical form of government—many shrewd and powerful intellects existed that could have called in question the advantages of the change; but a knowledge of the arbitrary character of the King's ministers prudently kept them silent. The publication of a work by Sir Robert Filmer[95] in 1680,[96] invested the regal power with such extraordinary attributes, that, among others, two distinguished scholars, John Locke and Algernon Sidney, thought proper to

[94] Lilly's "History of his Life and Times," 241.

[95] He was a barrister, and had recently been made a baronet. His brother, Edward, had been a gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles I. and II.; and his father, Sir Robert Filmer, had suffered severely in the Royal cause, his house having been plundered ten times, and himself imprisoned.

[96] "Patriarcha or the Natural Power of the Kings of England asserted."

honour it with a refutation. The two essays on government of the former are known to every Englishman; they had been preceded by "Discourses concerning Government" by the latter.[97] No doubt each from his position felt a bias that made him advocate his particular views. Filmer was as much bound to his side of the question, as the protegé of Lord Shaftesbury, and the colonel of horse under Fairfax, was bound to his. But the arguments of the opponents of irresponsible authority were answered by persecution. Locke had not published his masterly dissertations, was out of England, and no harm could be done him, except erasing his name, by Royal mandate, from the book of his college; but Sidney was in their power—and they having contrived to connect him with a sham conspiracy, called "the Rye House Plot," in which Lord William Russell was implicated, both were condemned on trial, and both suffered death on the scaffold in 1683. Their real offence was their connection with the popular party in endeavouring to exclude the Duke of York from the succession, in which they had been associated with Lord Shaftesbury, who had effected his escape from England the previous year.

The excitement of the times had not been unfavourable to poetry, and Milton and Dryden proved themselves worthy successors of Spenser and Shakspeare. At Court one of the most esteemed—indeed, one of the

[97] Though written earlier, they were not published in 1698. Locke's "Essays" were published in 1690.

sweetest and truest—poets of the age, was the Devonshire clergyman, who published, close upon the middle of the century, "Hesperides." Robert Herrick was ejected by the order of Cromwell; but after the Restoration, found himself again in his quiet vicarage, while his poems became as fashionable as those of the cavalier, Sir John Suckling, or those of the courtier, Sir John Denham, whose description of one of the Surrey hills still maintains a hold on public favour, as firm as that which John Dyer, more than eighty years afterwards, obtained for his poetical description of another.[98] Sir John Denham was appointed by Charles II. surveyor-general of his Majesty's buildings.

The seventeenth century, notwithstanding the extent to which it was disgraced by frivolity and profligacy, was rich in intellect. The imagination was not entirely devoted to the composition of licentious plays, amorous verses, or romances of gallantry. "Paradise Lost," "The Holy Living and Dying," and the "Pilgrim's Progress," were fruits of the same rich soil. Science, too, had profited by the meetings of the little congress at Lord Brouncker's; for Isaac Newton in 1663-4, made his discovery of the Binomial Theory, and that of the Fluxionary Calculus, in 1665. These preceded his grand doctrine of gravitation, and those other important researches which have made his name pre-eminent. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1672, but did not become its President till 1703.

[98] Cooper's Hill appears to have been written in 1643—Grongar Hill in 1727.

Prominent among the mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease, was Tom D'Urfey, an English Lope de Vega in dramatic fecundity. He wrote a comedy, called "The Richmond Heiress, or a Woman once in the Right," published in 1693.

Sir William Temple took into his employment a relative who had just finished his education at Trinity College, Dublin, and was ambitious of distinction and employment in England. He was tall, muscular, and of dark complexion. The young Irishman became Sir William's private secretary; but when not so employed, made love to his steward's daughter. Probably this affection stimulated his intellect, for he wrote much poetry—which, however, in after years he thought proper to destroy; he also attempted one or two productions in prose, of which he took more care, and the world has since preserved. It is said that Hester Johnson was only thirteen when her acquaintance commenced with the secretary of her father's master, and that the lively and tender-hearted Irishman had then arrived at the mature age of thirty.[99]

Their affection probably commenced at Richmond—indeed there is reason to believe that was the case, for she was born and baptized there, though subsequently she removed to Moor Park, when Sir William Temple went there. Be this as it may, this attachment has a painful interest, which rivals those cultivated in the same neigh-

[99] In one of the registers at Richmond, Hester, the daughter of Edward Johnson, is recorded as having been christened March 20, 1680-1; in 1697, when her lover was thirty, she must have been seventeen.

bourhood, in the preceding century—that of Sir Philip Sidney with Elizabeth Walsingham, and that of Lord Robert Dudley with Amy Robsart—for the sensitive Irishman subsequently made his name known far and wide as Dean Swift; and the Steward's daughter must be equally familiar to the reader as the "Stella" of his poems and epistles.

"About two hours before you were born," he wrote to Mrs. Howard, in the year 1727, "I got my giddiness by eating a hundred golden pippins at a time at Richmond." This must have been in Sir William Temple's garden; "and when you were about four years and a quarter old, bating two days, having made a fine seat about twenty miles further in Surrey," probably Moor Park, "where I used to read and sleep—there I got my deafness."[1]

Among the members of the Court who found a final resting-place in Richmond, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were Robert Cotton, groom of the privy-chamber to Queen Mary I., and yeoman of the beds to Queen Elizabeth,—Lady Margaret Chudleigh, grand-daughter of Henry Earl of Rutland; she was the wife of Sir John Chudleigh, and died at Richmond on the 17th of July, 1628,—Lady Dorothy Wright, the virtuous and religious wife of Sir George Wright; she died on the 10th of the same month, 1631,—Margaret, the equally estimable partner of Thomas Jay, Charles the First's commissary-general, September, 1646,—John Taylor, yeoman of the revels to Charles I.,

[1] "Suffolk Correspondence," i., 264.

an eminent actor, said to have been instructed in his art by Shakspeare ; he was buried here, November 4th, 1652,—Sir William Segar, garter king-at-arms from the year 1606 ; he was buried December 18th, 1633,—Henry Viscount Brouncker, cofferer to Charles II., 4th of January, 1687-8,—Marc Antoine Benoit, tutor to Henry Duke of Newcastle, and other noblemen, as well as Sir Henry Capel, in whose house, at Kew, he died, at the age of eighty-three, 1687. All were entombed in the old church of St. Mary Magdeline, at Richmond.

CHAPTER X.

Family of James II. at Richmond—William III. Hunting—His Household—Diet at Court—Fashionable Costume—Queen Anne—Celebrities of her Reign at Richmond—Duke of Ormonde.

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader under what sad circumstances the reign of Charles II. terminated, and his brother succeeded to the throne. The former had played the part of Lord of Misrule, to turn sovereignty into a farce, for the diversion of his associates; and, when obliged to part with the disguise, was forced to drop the mask. James II. did not pretend to be a "merry monarch," and certainly put forward as few claims to be considered a wise one. He had been much at Richmond during his earlier life, and for some years had maintained his family there. By his first wife, Anne Hyde, daughter of Lord Clarendon, he had several children; four sons died in their infancy, three of whom were Dukes of Cambridge, and one

Duke of Kendal; the others were the Princesses Mary and Anne, both residents of Richmond during their childhood. Their mother died in 1671; and the Duke of York, two years later, married Mary of Modena, by whom he had one son, who died in his childhood; and, after he had ascended the throne, 10th June, 1688, James Francis Edward, known in history as the Pretender. He was nursed at Richmond, declared Prince of Wales, and baptized in the following October, the Pope's Nuncio holding him at the font, and the Queen-mother acting as godmother; but the revolution that caused the abdication of James necessitated his expatriation, and he was subsequently known there only as "the Old Pretender," or "the Chevalier St. George." It is well known how James's eldest daughter and his son-in-law, the Duke of Orange, at the desire of many of the most distinguished families in England, at last put an end to his foolish scheme to bring back the people to Popery.

Sir William Temple left his son, John, in possession of his house at Richmond, when he removed to Moor Park, in the year 1686. This son was appointed by William III. secretary-at-war; but the occupation so overtasked his mind, that, in a state of aberration, he threw himself into the Thames. Sir William must subsequently have returned to the Friars, accompanied by his secretary, who also visited Richmond in after years, when he had established his literary reputation. William III. paid Sir William a visit here, and is said to have taught him the Dutch method of cutting asparagus.

Viscount Cornbury, at the death of Lord Clarendon, succeeded to his title. He was Lord Privy Seal in the first year of the reign of James II., but retained the office only a short time; and, after the establishment of William and Mary on the throne, lived in retirement.[2]

The second son of the first Lord Clarendon was Lawrence, master of the robes to Charles II., created, 23rd of April, 1681, Baron Hyde, of Wotton Basset, and Viscount Hyde of Kenilworth, and, on the 29th of November of the following year, Earl of Rochester. As he was favourable to the revolution that superseded James II., he received the appointment of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in the year 1700. He maintained a high character for integrity and talent, which probably preserved for him the friendship of virtuous Evelyn.[3]

The short reign of James II. allows of no particular

[2] By his marriage with Theodosia, daughter of Arthur, first Lord Capel, he had one son, Edward Viscount Cornbury, who was master of the horse to George Prince of Denmark. On the decease of his father, October 31st, 1709, he became third Earl of Clarendon; and, having filled the office of Governor of New York, survived till the 31st of March, 1723, leaving by his wife, Catherine, grand-daughter of Henry Earl of Thomond, two daughters (his only son having died unmarried, 12th Feb., 1712-13), Catherine, who died unmarried, and Theodosia, who married John Bligh, Esq., who, in right of her mother, was Baroness Clifton; and this barony the present Earl of Darnley possesses, by descent from her.

[3] He married Henrietta, daughter of Richard Earl of Barlington, by whom he had one son, and four daughters. The former, Henry, not only succeeded to his father's earldom at his death in 1711, but to that of his cousin, as fourth Earl of Clarendon. He

remark on the subject of costume. Persons of fashionable repute, of both sexes, who were seen in Richmond and the neighbourhood in this period, differed little in dress from the courtiers of Charles II., except in exhibiting more decorum in their manner, and less extravagance in their style; but with the Prince of Orange came a marked difference—now commenced an era of solidity and respectability. We bid adieu to the licentious frippery of the Stuarts, and welcome the stately sobriety of the House of Nassau. The gentlemen of the Court of William III. are easily recognized by the low-crowned hat, turned up in front, edged with gold lace, and decorated with a plume of feathers—by the enormous peruke descending over each shoulder down the breast—by his long-skirted, wide-cuffed coat, enriched with lace and embroidery, buttons and wide-mouthed pockets—his cravat with ends of Brussels lace—his capacious waistcoat, knee breeches, and high-heeled shoes; by the sword at his side, and the cane with a pendent tassel in his hand.

The lady is known by her towering head-dress of lace and ribbons surmounted by a kerchief or scarf, the ends resting on the bosom—by her long tapering waist

married Jane, youngest daughter of Sir William Leveson Gower, by whom he had one son, Henry, who predeceased his father in the same year, 1753; and two daughters, Jane, who married William Capel, third Earl of Essex, from whose eldest surviving daughter Charlotte, and her husband Thomas, second son of William, second Earl of Jersey, descends the present Earl of Clarendon; and Catherine, the wife of Charles Duke of Queensbury and Dover, and the friend of Prior and Gay.

tightly laced, below which the gown was gathered in heavy folds behind, to show a handsome petticoat, half concealed by a fancy apron trimmed with lace; the gown had short sleeves, and a long train, but below the elbow was shown the more delicate fabric of the undergarment, richly trimmed with lace.

The gallants indulged their taste by displaying shoulder knots, a broad sash ruffle, and in winter a cloak and a muff. This costume was partly French, and partly Dutch, but it soon became thoroughly English; and, with some modifications, was continued for nearly a century. There may be objections to portions worn by both sexes, particularly to their head-dress; but even with these disadvantages we prefer the somewhat solemn grandeur of the portraits of Kneller, to the picturesque vice too often pourtrayed by Lely. When his Majesty went to hunt at Richmond, we have no doubt that himself and his attendants, even if the latter included Schomberg and Ginkles, formed picturesque accessories to the landscape.

William III. passed much of his time, when in the country, at Hampton Court, his general residence being the suburban palace at Kensington; nevertheless, he was not indifferent to the beauties of Richmond.

Vernon, the Secretary of State, writing to the Duke of Shrewsbury, February 5th, 1697-8, says, "The King went to Richmond yesterday morning, and lay there last night, and hunted this day."[4] He appears to have

[4] James's "Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III.," i., 485.

run considerable risk while thus enjoying himself—for some suspicious characters were known to be lurking in the neighbourhood; and as more than one plot had been detected, that had his assassination for its object, vigilance was imperative. The secretary adds, in the same communication :—

"I hear of an ordinary fellow taken up in Northamptonshire upon the late act, for staying here without license; and I have sent for Habin the chirurgeon's widow, from Richmond, on the same account. I should not have been so hasty in it, but that her neighbours were scandalized at her behaviour, and have been in apprehension for the King's safety, by reason of a resort of Irish officers, who used to frequent her house, which lies in the way the King goes to Sutton's Lodge." [5]

Richmond, as we have shown, was always loyal, and the disbanded officers of James's Irish army were, the inhabitants knew, dangerous neighbours for their Protestant sovereign.

The household of William and Mary was arranged on the 1st of April, 1689.[6] The diet affords several varieties —when their Majesty's tables were supplied with thirteen dishes at dinner, and eleven at supper; the maids of honour were allowed eight at dinner, and three at supper; the King and Queen's waiters, and the chaplains five at dinner, and four at supper; the yeomen of the guard, and officers of the board, three at dinner; the pages of the backstairs two; the clerk of the

[5] "Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III."

[6] "Ordinances and Regulations," 380.

kitchen, the master cook, and the officer attending the cupboard, and Dr. Hutton, one. The Royal dinner consisted of one mess of potage, of capons, pullets, chickens or partridges, 24 of boiled beef; or on Sundays, of chine; on Tuesdays, a sirloin weighing each 53 and 30 lbs., two dishes of roasted mutton, a turkey, a large goose, or two fat capons, six fat chickens, eight tame pigeons, two pheasants or six partridges, six woodcocks or eight quails, a quarter of buck vension baked, or hen pie, and various tarts; with dessert plates of truffles or morelles, jelly and asparagus. At supper, four pigeons, roast mutton or veal, two capons or three pullets, eight plovers or snipes, twelve field pigeons or twenty-four larks, six runners or ducklings, a quarter of lamb, and tarts, with dessert plates of ragout of sweet-bread, pistachso nuts, and artichokes and peas. The Royal table cost 3400*l.* yearly.

The diet of the maids of honour cost 930*l.* yearly; and consisted, for dinner, of sixteen pounds of boiled beef, or twenty-four of roast, a mess of roast mutton, of veal or pig, turkey or goose, two pullets or two green geese, five chickens, and lamb pie. For supper, a mess of mutton, two pullets, and four rabbits. Other allowances were made in these and the other diets: on flesh days and fish days the maids of honour had twelve manchets, and eight at breakfast, and as many loaves of bread, seven gallons of beer and six of Lambeth ale, three bottles of claret and one of sherry. The yeomen of the field to the King and Queen, when hunting at Richmond or elsewhere, were allowed two manchets, two loaves, two

gallons of beer, two bottles of Lambeth ale, one of Champagne, one of Rhenish, and one of sherry. When the King or Queen attended the theatre, the players received six manchets, twelve loaves, four gallons of beer, eight bottles of claret, and four of sherry.

Among the "incidents," or additional expenses, 400*l.* yearly were paid for washing the King and Queen's table-linen, and 54*l.* 15*s.* for that of the maids of honour; the master-cook had 182*l.* 10*s.* for made plates (made dishes) for the Royal table; the charge for their Majesties' bathing was 61*l.* 14*s.* 9½*d*; for sweets for their linen, and orange-flower and rose-water for their hands, 50*l.* a-year; for *maws* and *livers* for the King and Queen, 27*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*; and Eleanor Franklin had 45*l.* a-year for providing ale for the Queen, by her Majesty's command—notwithstanding that their Majesties were served at their meals with three gallons of beer, eight bottles of Lambeth ale, a bottle of mead, six bottles of claret, four of Champagne, two of Rhenish, and three of sherry.

The salaries of the principal officers of the household were much in advance of those allowed by Queen Elizabeth. William Earl of Devonshire, lord steward, received 100*l.* wages, and 1,360*l.* board wages; Francis Viscount Newport, as treasurer and cofferer, 223*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*, and no board wages; Thomas Wharton, Esq., comptroller, had 107*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* wages, and 1,092*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* board wages; Thomas Felton, Esq., master of the household, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and 433*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and the two clerks of the green cloth, 44*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and 455*l.*

13*s.* 4*d.*, which was also the allowance of the clerk-comptroller; the Countess of Derby, groom of the stole to the Queen, received 547*l.* 10*s.* In the cellar there was a yeoman and keeper of ice and snow, at 5*l.* wages and 5*l.* board wages—which appears to have been the allowance of all the yeomen; the master-cook, Patrick Lamb, Esq., was paid with 11*l.* 8*s.* 1⅓*d.* wages, and 138*l.* 11*s.* 10½*d.* board wages; the master-cook of the Queen's privy-kitchen received the same; the Lord Chamberlain had 100*l.* wages and 1,100*l.* board wages; the principal secretary only board wages, 730*l.*; the surgeon and apothecary, 127*l.* 15*s.* board wages; twenty-three gentlemen of the chapel (two organists) received between them 262*l.* 6*s.* 10½*d.*, and 1,416*l.* 13*s.* 1½*d.* wages and board wages, (4*s.* a-day); the master of music for ten children, 24*l.* each; the Dean of the Chapel had 200*l.* a-year board wages, and the Sub-Dean 4*s.* a-day; the master of the horse had 1,200*l.* a-year board wages; ten equerries, 256*l.* each; the hunting grooms, 18*l.*; the great horse grooms, 9*l.* The allowance to each horse was a bottle of hay per diem, at 4*l.* a load; straw for coach-horses, six trusses a-month, at 30*s.* a load; for other horses, eight trusses; oats, a peck and a-half, at 24*l.* a quarter; beans, quarter of a peck, at 6*s.* a bushel; shoeing and doctoring, 2*d.* a-day, and 20*s.* a-year for each hunting horse. The number of horses allowed for the use of the household were hunters, coursers, and pads, 36; coach-horses, 42; bottle horses, 2; hunting horses, 4—the master of the horse was allowed 12, the gentleman of the horse 4, and the surgeon 2.

The salaries of the master of the horse and his subordinates amounted to 9,067*l.*; and the entire annual expense of the Royal stables to 16,400*l.* 19*s.* 3¼*d.*; the daily alms at the gate formed an annual charge of 219*l.*; and the total yearly expense of the Royal household was 76,038*l.* 14*s.*

In the remarks at the end of the ordinances it is stated—"We are pleased, and do hereby ratify and confirm the ancient order of succession in our household establishment by our Royal progenitors, and likewise under the sign-manual of our Royal great-grandfather and grandfather, King James the First and King Charles the First, of happy and glorious memory, and our late dear uncle, King Charles the Second, of *blessed* memory."

William the Third often hunted in Richmond Park, but does not appear to have maintained a regular residence in the neighbourhood—satisfying himself with his palaces at Kensington and Hampton Court. Nor did his Queen show the decided partiality for the place that might have been expected from her, knowing that the pleasant years of her early life had there been passed. Her sister, however, the Princess Anne, still retained her affection for the place, and made a request that she might be allowed to reside there—but it was not granted.

That the Queen of William the Third possessed much shrewd sense, may be gathered from the following anecdote:—

A French author had attacked the reputation of her

namesake of Scotland. "Is it not a shame," observed an indignant courtier, "that this man, without any consideration for your Royal person, should dare to throw such infamous calumnies upon a Queen from whom your Majesty is descended?" "Not at all," she replied, with dignity; "for it is not enough that by fulsome praises sovereigns be lulled asleep all their lives; but must flattery accompany them to their graves? How shall, then, Princes fear the judgment of posterity, if historians were not allowed to speak truth after their death?"[7]

Both this Queen and her eminently sagacious husband passed from the scene of their united sovereignty within six years of each other; and the Princess Anne, as Queen, had the power of gratifying her predilections for Richmond to their fullest extent. Matters of greater consequence, however, appear to have kept her away. Mrs. Freeman and Mrs. Morley had carried on their correspondence with wonderfully few references in this direction, and the Queen and the Duchess of Marlborough had now to discuss more important business. There was a good deal of intrigue going on in the neighbourhood of Richmond, and politicians, as a class, were certainly not improving. So low were the characters of courtiers and statesmen at the commencement of the eighteenth century, that the Earl of Shrewsbury, writing from Rome to Lord Somers, in the year 1701, says —"Had I a son, I would sooner breed him a cobbler

[7] Coxe's "Hist. of Ireland."

than a courtier—and a hangman than a statesman."[8]

Queen Anne was extremely particular in her ideas of dress, and did not allow any negligence to escape her notice. Lord Bolingbroke once appeared before her in a short wig instead of a full one; which so much excited her indignation, that she said—"I suppose his Lordship will come to Court the next time in his night-cap." The pages of the *Spectator* and other periodicals of the time afford frequent notices of the variations of fashion. These will also be found freely commented on in the works of Swift, Pope, and other cotemporary writers of eminence; but the only novelties worthy of notice worn by ladies were small caps and hoop petticoats—and those worn by gentlemen were three-cornered hats, edged with gold or silver lace, and blue or scarlet silk stockings, clocked with gold or silver. When Richmond Wells became a fashionable resort, groups of exquisites of both sexes, clad completely *à la mode*, lounged under the trees, promenaded the avenues, or assembled to enjoy the dance, to share in the raffle, or to hear the music; the elders at the card-table, or circulating the gossip of the day. Here Addison, having stolen away from his Countess and his Kensington dignities, may have gathered materials for many a pleasant paper for his fashionable periodical. Here Prior, released from the cares of State, may have revelled with a band of kindred spirits in the social pleasures then generally indulged in by men of

[8] "Shrewsbury Correspondence."

wit and fashion. Here Steele may have fed his genial humour at the expense of the empty fops with whom he condescended to associate. Here Pope in some leafy retreat may have ventured upon a declaration of his foolish passion for Lady Mary Montagu, and been rewarded by her flirting ladyship with that contemptuous laugh which appears never to have been forgotten. The lovers, as is well known, became henceforth bitter enemies. Pope threatened to put the lady's character in black and white; she retorted with a promise to have him in black and blue. There is little doubt that Lady Mary circulated the stinging scandal that the poet had been horsewhipped in Ham Walk, which the poet thought it necessary publicly to deny.

Here Defoe may have retired to some quiet inn parlour, to produce one of those marvellous narratives of adventure which brought him daily bread and everlasting fame. Here Swift, Arbuthnot, Bolingbroke, Atterbury, and many other distinguished men of the time, may have enjoyed "the feast of reason, and the flow of soul;" that none knew better how to share or appreciate. Here Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman may have shared that precious confidence which made the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough a second power in the State, till the ungrateful abigail, Mrs. Masham, contrived to have the great Duke and the greater Duchess sent to Coventry. And here may have flourished, in the season of their greatness, Beau Fielding, whose extravagance was fed from a source more mysterious than that of the Nile—the eccentric Duchess of Newcastle

—the proud Duke of Somerset—and a multitude of celebrities, that made the reign of Queen Anne famous to posterity.

The Queen granted the Rangership of Richmond Park to her relation, Lord Clarendon, for three lives. The site of his house now forms a part of the park; but towards the close of the reign a much more powerful personage built a mansion in the neighbourhood. This was James Butler, second Duke of Ormond in the peerage of Ireland, and second Earl of Brecknock in that of England. He was one of the first who had welcomed the Prince of Orange to England. William III. distinguished him with marks of favour, and made him Lord High Constable on the day of his coronation. He was at the battle of the Boyne, and subsequently, at Landen, he was wounded and taken prisoner by the French. He returned to England, and in 1702 Queen Anne created him Commander-in-Chief of the armament that destroyed the French and Spanish fleets at Vigo. In 1712 he succeeded the Duke of Marlborough as Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the land forces. It has been stated that he was appointed Ranger of Richmond Park; if so, it must have preceded the grant to Lord Clarendon. He built a magnificent mansion, near the river opposite Sion House, where he lived in princely state.

If Ham House could boast of its cabal in the reign of Charles II., we have every reason to believe that the social combinations at Ormonde House in the reign of Queen Anne quite as much deserved the name, though

their initials could not have produced it. The Triton of innumerable political minnows was its ducal owner. He possessed not only a great name as a public character, but had held some of the highest offices of State, and was consequently intimately connected with many of the most important transactions of the time. The exiled Royal family had made him an object of especial attention, and at the close of Queen Anne's reign a confidential communication was established between them and the Duke. At this period many persons of eminence secretly desired a second restoration, in preference to submitting to the government of a Hanoverian Elector, of whom they knew nothing but what the common prejudice against foreign domination readily created or circulated. Prominent among these was the philosophic Bolingbroke, who could have found no difficulty in riding from his house at Battersea for a private conference at Richmond. Another celebrated intriguer was Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, who was implicated in the same illegal correspondence. The poet Prior appears also to have suffered himself, during his residence in Paris, to be drawn into some kind of connection with the little court at St. Germain's. Unfortunately for them, though not for the nation, the interests of the Elector of Hanover were so well looked after at this critical period, and there prevailed generally so deep an impression of the misrule of the Stuarts, that the Jacobites in the government at last found it necessary to consult their safety by flight.

On the death of Queen Anne, the Duke of Ormonde, being a member of the Privy-Council, signed a proclamation, dislaiming the right to the succession of the Elector of Hanover. Nevertheless, George I. easily established himself on the throne, and, as a natural consequence, the Duke was removed from all his employments, and impeached in Parliament. He precipitately abandoned his mansion in Richmond, to which he had retired, and sought safety in flight; but he was attainted in his absence, and all his estates confiscated.[9]

James, second Duke of Queensbury, filled high appointments in the State during the reigns of King William and Queen Anne. For the former he was Lord High Treasurer of Scotland and Lord High Commissioner—and for the latter Secretary of State, Lord Commissioner, and first commissioner for Scotland, to arrange the proposed union of the two kingdoms—for which services his Grace was made a peer of England, with the titles of Baron Ripon, Marquis of Beverley, and Duke of Dover. He also received a pension of 3000*l.* a-year. He married (Dec., 1685) Lady Mary, fourth daughter of Charles Lord Clifford, and grand-daughter of Richard Earl of Burlington and Cork. The Duke died in the year 1711.

[9] "A few years later his brother Charles, Earl of Arran, was permitted to purchase the escheated lands, and he subsequently sold Richmond Lodge to the Prince of Wales. The Duke of Ormonde, notwithstanding these disgraces and losses, lived to the advanced age of ninety-four, and died at Madrid, on the 16th of November, 1745.

John Sheffield, third Earl of Mulgrave, K.G., distinguished by his bravery in the naval battle of Solebay, was one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to Charles II. In the first year of James II. he was appointed a member of the Privy-council, and lord chamberlain of the household. Notwithstanding these favours, and his marriage with the King's natural daughter, he helped, like many other of the courtiers, to swell the ranks of the Prince of Orange, who, after his accession, continued him in the Council, and created him, May 10th, 1694, Marquis of Normanby. In the second year of Queen Anne, he was elevated to the Dukedom of Normanby, March 9th, 1703, which was followed very shortly afterwards by that of Buckingham. A scandalous gossip states that the Queen thus rewarded him for having made love to her before her accession to the throne. He was not only a pretender to gallantry, but to literature. His claims to the latter have been endorsed by Dryden and denied by Walpole. He survived till 1721.

A mansion on Richmond Green enjoyed a long celebrity. It was erected at the expense of Sir Charles Hodges, Secretary of State to Queen Anne. After having entertained the wits and beauties of the Augustan era of English literature, it passed into the possession of a wealthy merchant, Sir Matthew Decker,[10]

[10] His daughter Catherine, in the year 1744, married Richard Fitzwilliam, sixth Viscount Fitzwilliam in the peerage of Ireland, who died in the year 1776. He was succeeded by his eldest son Richard, Viscount Fitzwilliam, who lived many years at this

who built a magnificent room in which he might entertain George II. and Queen Caroline, and the beauties and gallants of their court, when they chose to honour their neighbour with a visit.

Queen Anne died in the year 1714; and though in the latter years of her reign a stranger to Richmond, her name was held in as much honour there as in any part of her dominions. In truth, the intellectual gifts that were showered upon that few years during which she ruled brought their fertilizing influence to the neighbourhood of the old palace as freely as elsewhere. It was daily becoming more fashionable, and though there was no court actually stationed there, several of the most distinguished personages connected with it were daily seeking a pleasant rest in its vicinity.

mansion, where, with the assistance of Woodburn and Smith, he collected a choice cabinet of paintings, and a very large and valuable collection of prints. He also formed an extensive library, which included a series of musical productions from the age of Queen Ellzabeth, and the works of Handel, many in the great master's autograph. He survived till the year 1816, then being of the age of seventy-one, and bequeathed the whole of his accumulations to the University of Cambridge, with 100,000*l.* stock for the erection of a suitable building to contain them, which structure and its contents form the well-known Fitzwilliam Museum. His brother was the last Viscount of the family. He died in 1833.

CHAPTER XI.

George I. Hunting at Richmond with Sir Robert Walpole—Prince and Princess of Wales and their Court—Sir Richard Steele—Colley Cibber—Mary Lipell—Lord Hervey—Lord Bolingbroke—Mary Bellenden—Mrs. Howard—Lord Chesterfield—Pope—Gay—Mrs. Clayton—Jacob Tonson—Duchess of Queensbury.

The Elector of Hanover had scarcely arrived in England, and been acknowledged as its sovereign by the title of George I., when he appears to have been taken to Richmond, probably by Sir Robert Walpole, one of his principal ministers. His Majesty greatly enjoyed the sport of hunting in the new park, in which he was accompanied by Sir Robert, whose convivial spirit was as much appreciated by the monarch, as his qualities as a statesman. His Majesty was entertained at one of the lodges; where, after an excellent dinner, a good bowl of punch was sure to be produced, of which

the King was especially fond. He so liked the place, that he had a house built in the park for his occasional residence; and so liked the minister, that he bought, from the Clarendon family, the rangership, which he bestowed on Walpole's eldest son, nominally, that Walpole might have the use of it. The Royal lodge was erected of stone, from a design, Horace Walpole states, of Henry Earl of Pembroke, and contained a large banqueting-chamber, with kitchen, offices, and every convenience for dinners on a large scale. Sir Robert built a house of brick on a more modest scale, but enlarged it by degrees till it assumed rather imposing dimensions. Before its completion he resided in a small house on the hill, where the King frequently did him the honour of dining with him, and of drinking his punch. The minister used to go to Richmond from London every Saturday, apparently for recreation; but it has been affirmed that he got through more business there during this and the following day, than he could have transacted at his official residence in town. He maintained a pack of beagles, with which he used to hunt; and his interest in Richmond may be imagined by the fact, that when in town he received a packet of letters, he always opened that of his gamekeeper first. As he invariably contrived to join the King's shooting-parties, and was never absent from the dinner that followed, where drinking was continued to a late hour, we suspect that the public business was not much expedited in this interval.

Sir Richard Steele was secretary to the Lord Cham-

berlain,[11] and must necessarily have attended the King in his visits to the lodge in Richmond Park, and probably gained much of his knowledge of society, by mingling in the fashionable company that thronged the public promenades and private mansions in the neighbourhood. From this source might be traced many of those incomparable sketches of life and character that enliven the pages of his popular periodical; and doubtless his friend, Addison, stole away from his domestic felicity at Kensington to enjoy the gratification of strolling in his company among the idlers that came to drink of the chalybeate, or lounge about the ferry. Steele, however, did not contribute to the last volume. The first number of the *Spectator* is dated March 1st, 1710-11; the last, December 20th, 1714. One of the later numbers, 620, contains Tickell's poem, "The Royal Progress," which thus disposes of the Royal family, after a panegyric on Lord Halifax:—

> "The muse, if fired with thy enlivening beams,
> Perhaps shall aim at more exalted themes,
> Record our monarch in a nobler strain,
> And sing the opening wonders of his reign;
> Bright Carolina's[12] heavenly beauties trace,
> Her valiant consort, and his blooming race.
> A train of kings their fruitful love supplies,
> A glorious view to Albion's ravished eyes;
> Who sees, by Brunswick's hand, her sceptre swayed,
> And through his line from age to age conveyed."

[11] "Magna Britanniæ Notitia, or the Present State of Great Britain." By John Chamberlayne, Esq., F.R.S., 1716, p. 564.

[12] The Princess of Wales.

Sir Richard Steele was, about the same period, surveyor of the stables at Hampton Court.[13]

Colley Cibber, the poet laureate, showed his partiality for Richmond by his residence there with his family during his connection with Richmond Wells; and here, probably, he wrote several of his comedies, previously to his taking the management of Drury Lane. His son, Theophilus, who was born November 26th, 1703, during the better portion of his irregular career, flourished dramatically on the same soil. He established a theatre on the Green, where a hovel for donkeys had previously stood. Penkethman, the celebrated actor of a preceding generation, had given a theatrical notoriety to the place by his performances; but Cibber, not having procured a licence, and desiring to evade an act of Parliament which had been passed against strolling players, chose to open his house as a cephalic snuff warehouse.[14]

George I. did not care much about dress; he followed the fashions of the Court of Hanover, which were, like those of England, derived from France; and when he hunted in Richmond Park, he was only to be distinguished from his attendants by a less careful toilet. These visits, and the residence of the monarch and his minister in the park-lodges, brought a good deal of

[13] Chamberlayne's "Magna Britanniæ Notitia," 571.

[14] In 1734 he married the sister of Dr. Arne, an actress of considerable reputation. Colley Cibber was found dead in his bed in the year 1757, and his son was drowned at sea in the following year.

company into the neighbourhood; and, even during the Jacobite fever of 1715, it was, as in the more critical period of the Civil war, remarkable for its loyalty. We are not prepared to state, that when Madame Schulenburg and the Countess Platen made their appearance, the ordinary residents, or visitors, refrained from comments on the King's taste—but they were not mobbed; and, as neither his Majesty nor his ladies understood English, they were not likely to be offended by adverse criticism.

The Prince of Wales, the King's only son, by the incarcerated Sophia Dorothea, rented the mansion in which the Duke of Ormonde had resided, in the year 1718, and purchased it of the Commissioners for Confiscated Estates the following year, for 6000*l.* He lived there with his Princess and their little Court during a considerable portion of every season. Here came into historic notice the attractions of those Court beauties to whom Richmond owes so many pleasant associations. What student of the Past has not read the various poetical tributes and interesting anecdotes that illustrate their personal influence? What idler through the Present has not enjoyed those delicate memorials of their existence, that still perpetuate their presence in every Richmond banquet. The maids of honour who flourished in the first quarter of the last century deserve to be regarded as the most charming features of the time. They were, indeed, the idols of the Court, and received devotion as fervent, if not as poetical, as ever was heard in temples dedi-

cated to the goddesses of Greece and Rome. Indeed, Gay expressly states, in his ballad "Damon and Cupid," that the God of Love

> "Now dwells at Court
> With Bellenden and Lepell."

Major-General Nichols Lepell was proprietor of one of the little Channel Islands, called Sark, where his daughter and heiress, Mary, was born; and where, from the society of the place, she contracted and retained through life that French air, which is said to have been irresistible.[15] At fourteen Miss Lepell was a maid of honour, and a source of inspiration to half the poets of her time; in truth, later bards were sometimes content to refer to her as a model of feminine perfection. At a later date, Churchill, describing her daughter, writes:—

> "That face, that form, that dignity and ease,
> Those powers of pleasing, and that wish to please
> By which Lepell, even in her youthful days,
> Had from the currish Pope extracted praise;
> We see transmitted, in her daughter shine,
> And view a new Lepell in Caroline."

Pope was accused of ingratitude to the ladies of the Court. This refers to a poem he wrote, called "The Challenge," commencing:—

> "To one fine lady out of Court,"

[15] By the attractions she retained in age, she must have been singularly captivating when young, gay, and handsome; and never was there so perfect a model of the finely polished, highly bred, genuine woman of fashion. Her manners had a foreign tinge, which some called affected—but they were gentle, easy, dignified, and altogether exquisitely pleasing."—*Lady Louisa Stuart.*

In which reference is made to three of that fair company, Lepell, Bellenden, and Griffin, in a manner more free than could have been quite agreeable to them. The ballad was imitated by Mr. Caley, in his "News from Court":—

"Ye ladies fair, who live remote
From all our London news," &c.[16]

The same composition was referred to in a piece by Curl, bearing the title, "The Confederate, a Farce, by Joseph Gay, 1717." In this the young ladies were represented sending the poet a purse of gold by a footman. These Court ballads were innumerable.

The accusation against Pope is thus expressed:—"Our poet found means to be introduced to some of the young ladies at Court. Four of these, who were his best friends and patronesses (as they are to anything that carries the face of wit and learning), he abused in a scurvy ballad, for which any other man would have received correction; but in this case these generous ladies contented themselves with showing a contempt for his malice, and banished him their company."[17]

Miss Lepell was won by the congenial attractions of the fair-complexioned Hervey; and, as if the attachment was then no secret, they are coupled in the year 1720, by a celebrated poetical associate:—

"Now Hervey, fair of face, I mark full well,
With thee, youth's youngest daughter, sweet Lepell."[18]

[16] "Court Miscellany," i., 15.

[17] Pope Alexander's Supremacy and Infallibility examined, 1729.

[18] Gay—"Mr. Pope's Welcome from Greece."

Their marriage was celebrated in the same year, but was not immediately made public. Probably the mystery was affected merely to avoid the notoriety it was sure to produce in that little community, though a writer of eminence finds a different cause for it.[19] The interesting fact, however, soon became known, and Pulteney and Chesterfield concocted between them a ballad to the tune of a popular song, "Molly Mogg," which they forwarded to the bride as the production of a poet who manufactured similar things on such occasions, as his ordinary means of subsistence. The lady was deceived, and sent the customary recompense—but was angry, and justly so, at the offensive freedom of some of the lines. Dr. Arbuthnot, according to his own confession, appears to have assisted at the composition; for in a letter to Swift, dated at least six years after the marriage, he says:—"I gave your service to Lady Hervey.[20] She is in a little sort of a miff about a ballad that was writ on her to the tune of 'Molly Mogg,' and sent her in the name of a begging poet. She was *bit*, and wrote a letter to the begging poet, and desired him to change two *double entendres*, which the authors, Mr. Pulteney and Lord Chesterfield, changed into *single entendres*. I was against that, though I had a hand in the first." It is somewhat singular that Lady Hervey's displeasure should have so long survived the offence; but probably she was aware

[19] Croker—"Memoirs of the Reign of George II.," by John, Lord Hervey. Introduction.

[20] Carr, Lord Hervey, died Nov. 15, 1723.

of Arbuthnot's complicity in it, and, when he presented himself before her, gave him to understand that she had not forgotten it. The literary merit of this is not above those which were then sung about the streets, or pasted on walls; and in taste is below many of them.

We can only quote the first three and the last verses:—

"The Muses, quite jaded with rhyming,
To Molly Mogg bid a farewell;
But renew their sweet melody, chiming
To the name of dear Molly Lepell.

Bright Venus yet never saw bedded
So perfect a beau and a belle,
As when Hervey the handsome was wedded
To the beautiful Molly Lepell.

So pow'rful her charms, and so moving,
They would warm an old monk in his cell;
Should the Pope himself ever go roaming,
He would choose our dear Molly Lepell.

* * * * * *

If Curll would print me this sonnet,
To a volume my verses should swell,
A fig for what Dennis says on it,
He can never find fault with Lepell.

Then Handel to music shall set it,
Through England my ballad shall sell;
And all the world readily get it,
To sing to the praise of Lepell."

Lady Hervey was one of Horace Walpole's most intimate friends; and he showed his appreciation of her amiable character by dedicating to her, many years afterwards, his "Anecdotes of Painting in England,"

from Vertue's MSS. She was also one of his most esteemed correspondents. Lady Hervey, of course, ceased to be a maid of honour after her marriage; but her husband's position at Court brought her frequently to Richmond, and there is constant reference to her in the letters of her cotemporaries—her own being among the most pleasant illustrations of the time.

The Hervey family were established about the Court on the accession of George I. The father, (John Hervey, Esq., of Ickworth, in Suffolk,) had been created Baron Hervey in 1703, then became, 19th Oct., 1714, Earl of Bristol; his lady was a lady of the bedchamber to the Princess of Wales; and his eldest son, Carr, by his first wife, was appointed a lord of the Prince's bedchamber. Lord Bristol affected to be indifferent to Court employment, while taking particular pains to get the members of his family stationed there. He was one of the great patrons of horse-racing, and professed a deeper interest in the proceedings of Newmarket than in those of St. James's. In the reign of Queen Anne he had despatched his son Carr to Hanover, to establish friendly relations with that Court; and in 1716 his son John was sent to the same place, with the same diplomatic object. On his return to England the latter was, by this parental policy, a frequent visitor to his mother and brother, when they were in waiting on the Prince and Princess of Wales, at their Court at Richmond, then in the zenith of its gaiety and splendour. Being handsome, witty, and accomplished, he was considered as an acquisition, attracted the favour-

able notice of the Prince and Princess, and remained one of the liveliest and best dressed of that very lively and fashionable coterie.

The Princess was clever and handsome, and had a particular gratification in attracting around her clever and handsome people; but when she could not secure both qualifications, she was content with the first. Pope was an established favourite, and with him came most of those literary celebrities who were known as his personal friends. The ladies of the Court were the Countess of Bristol, a clever and accomplished woman; Mesdames Howard and Selwyn,[21] bedchamber women; Miss Howe;[22] the two sisters immortalized by Gay in his "Welcome to Pope from Greece," as

> "Madge Bellenden, the tallest in the land,
> And smiling Mary, soft and fair as down."

Misses Carteret, Meadows, and the other maids of honour. They appear to have lived a pleasant life. "I have seen my namesake, Bellenden," writes a Court lady in September, 1718, "who tells me she diverted herself mighty well at Richmond."[23] There was also the Countess of Deloraine, governess to the Princesses, who had the unenviable reputation of having poisoned a young lady of her acquaintance, probably a rival. Among the noblemen and gentlemen who flourished on

[21] Mother of the famous George Selwyn.

[22] Sophia Howe was unpleasantly celebrated in the Court annals of the time, and was the heroine of Lord Hervey's poem, "Monimia and Philocles," the hero being the fashionable "Tony Lowther," as he was familiarly called.

[23] "Suffolk Correspondence," i., 29.

the same soil, the most distinguished were Lord Lumley, afterwards Earl of Scarborough, master of the horse; Bathurst, Carr, Lord Hervey, his brother John, and Anthony Lowther, younger brother of Lord Lonsdale.

St. John Viscount Bolingbroke was ostensibly much caressed by the little Court at Richmond. He had been forced into expatriation by his intrigues on behalf of the exiled family. It is confidently stated that he obtained his pardon from the Government of George I. by betraying their secrets, he having been in its service while residing at France.[24] He there married for his second wife, the Marchioness de Villette (niece to the French King's celebrated mistress, Madame de Maintenon), who, when in England negociating for his pardon, swore that she was not his wife, for the purpose of obtaining a sum of money in the possession of Sir Matthew Decker. Bolingbroke, writing to Sir William Wyndham, on the 22nd of May, 1724, sanctions this scandalous transaction, by stating that if the money is not paid, his wife is to be only Madame de Villette, who has nothing to do with his affairs—adding, "Surely any dissimulation is allowable to get out of the hands of robbers and assassins."[25] The dissimulation was perjury, and the robbers and assassins, translated into the same language of truth, became one honest man of business, who required legal proof before he surrendered a trust.

Lord Bolingbroke has been described by one who

[24] Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," i., 13.
[25] Archdeacon Coxe, ii., 331.

knew him well, as "a very handsome person, with a most engaging address in his air and manners; he had all the dignity and good breeding which a man of quality should or can have, and which so few, in this country at least, rarely have."[26]

He, however, was of opposite politics to the Government of George I.; and though he accepted obligations from his ministers, was not above attempting to undermine their influence when an occasion presented itself. Hence his court to the heir-apparent at Richmond, when he was known to be on ill terms with the King.

Mary Bellenden is the heroine of the characteristic story in which the Prince of Wales is represented counting guineas before her into his hat, as though considering the price his Royal Highness ought to pay for such attractions—which considerations were summarily concluded on finding the hat kicked out of his hand, the coin scattered about the floor, and the offended beauty rushing out of the room with a hearty laugh. She was the youngest daughter of the second Lord Bellenden, and has been distinguished by the praise of Pope, Gay, Hervey, and Walpole. Lord Hervey asserts that "she was incontestably the most agreeable, the most insinuating, and the most likeable woman of her time—made up of every ingredient likely to engage or attach a lover."[27] In a subsequent passage he gives her credit for prudence in a style not quite suited to more modern ideas of female excellence. In 1726 she

[26] Chesterfield's "Letters," edited by Lord Mahon, ii., 450.
[27] "Memoirs," i., 34.

married Colonel Argyll, long afterwards (1761) fourth Duke of Argyll. Though she then left the Court, she maintained a constant correspondence with Mrs. Howard, in which nothing is more evident than her desire to return.

Maids of honour appear to have been liable to very similar insults, and in more than one instance these have elicited striking proofs of their anger. The amatory advances of Philip of Spain were rewarded by Queen Mary's attendant with a sharp stroke from a cudgel. Mademoiselle de Pannewitz, maid of honour to the wife of Frederick William, father of Frederick the Great, replied to the importunities of that military hero with so severe a blow in the face, that his nose and mouth streamed with the blood royal. The manner in which Mary Bellenden received the offensive propositions from the Prince of Wales, though given with her foot instead of her hand, was equally expressive of her indignation.

Mrs. Howard, sister to Lord Hobart, was dresser to the Princess. She had married a younger brother of the Earl of Suffolk, a profligate spendthrift. Respecting her quarrel with her husband, who had threatened to carry her away, Horace Walpole states, in his "Reminiscences of the Court," that though she might consider herself safe while under the Royal roof, even though the King and Prince were at variance, the case would be altered, on the arrival of summer, when their Royal Highnesses removed to Richmond. Being only woman of the bedchamber, Mrs. Howard could not be per-

mitted to travel in the Princess's coach, and she apprehended her husband might seize her on the road. The lady, however, had powerful friends; and John, Duke of Argyll, and his brother, the Earl of Islay, called for her in a carriage some hours before the removal of the Prince and Princess, and lodged her safely in their house at Richmond. Shortly afterwards a negociation was commenced with the obstreperous husband, and Walpole avers that he sold his own noisy honour, and the possession of his wife, for a pension of 1200*l.* a-year.[28]

It has been generally stated that the Prince of Wales discovered that Mrs. Howard was more accessible to his unpoetical imitation of the shower of Danaë than he had found Miss Bellenden; but Lord Hervey acknowledges that many persons about the Court, who had the best means of ascertaining the truth, were satisfied that though the Prince passed three or four hours every evening in her apartment, such visits were perfectly innocent.[29] Be this as it may, Mrs. Howard chose to receive all the credit and discredit of such a position. Of good nature she is said to have enjoyed a large portion; of good looks she was less liberally gifted; and already possessed an infirmity which, though Pope ingeniously turned into a compliment, it could scarcely have been a recommendation to a princely lover.

[28] "Reminiscences of the Court."

[29] "Memoirs," edited by the Right Hon. J. Wilson Croker, i., 55. Mr. Croker is here of a different opinion, though in a former work ("Suffolk Correspondence") he encouraged the idea.

The Meadows family were held in much favour by the King—Sir Philip having succeeded his father as knight-marshal of the Palace in 1718, to which office his eldest son, Sydney, also succeeded; his third son, Philip, was appointed deputy-ranger of Richmond Park.[30]

The Duke of Kingston, who figures prominently in the Court anecdotes of this period, was Evelyn Pierrepoint, K.G., Marquis of Dorchester, raised to the Dukedom July 29, 1715. By his first wife, Lady Mary, daughter of William, Earl of Denbigh, he had one son, Evelyn, who, at the decease of his father, 1726, succeeded as second Duke.[31]

Another distinguished member of the Richmond Court was Philip Dormer Stanhope (subsequently Earl of Chesterfield). He was in great favour with Mrs. Howard, with whom he corresponded, and wrote several pleasing trifles for her in verse and prose. One of these is a familiar epistle addressed to her lap-dog, in which he offered suggestions as to the education of her progeny, containing amusing references to some members of the Royal household. He thus concludes:—

"While they are little you cannot do better than let them

[30] He married, in 1734, Frances, daughter of William Pierrepoint, Earl of Kingston. Sir Philip's eldest daughter, Mary, was one of the maids of honour.

[31] He married Miss Chudleigh, maid of honour to the Princess of Wales (wife of Prince Frederick), subsequently notorious as the Duchess of Kingston, convicted of bigamy. The eldest daughter of the first Duke was the equally celebrated Lady Mary, who married the Hon. Wortley Montagu.

play with the Secretary; but when they come to dog's estate, bid them imitate, and, if possible, emulate, the magnanimity and fortitude of Herbert (ninth Earl of Pembroke) and Belhaven, that they may one day be justly promoted to the dignity of house-dogs. In short, that your progeny may in time be both the ornaments and the guardians of the Lodge, is the hearty and sincere wish of,

"Yours, &c." [32]

In another letter addressed to her, he refers to the games at cards, then fashionable at Court, when bringing his communication to a conclusion:—

"So, wishing you all imaginable success at 'Trey Ace,' 'Commerce,' or whatever else may be the prevailing diversion at the Lodge, I am, with the greatest truth and respect,

"Yours, &c.

"P.S.—I must beg of you, if his Royal Highness should be ever so good as to mention me, that you will present my most profound duty and respect to him, when you find it not improper. I hope their three Highnesses, Frederick, William, and Augusta, are well." [33]

These were the three eldest children of the Prince and Princess.

The poet Pope was also one of the Richmond coterie, and had just found a residence on the other side of the river, whence he occasionally came to pay his respects at Court. In a letter to a friend, dated December 12, 1718, he writes, "At last the gods and fate have fixed

[32] Chesterfield's "Letters," edited by Lord Mahon, iii., 16.

[33] Ibid., 19. There was a good deal of gambling; Mrs. Howard acknowledges, July 22, 1723, having lost more than a hundred pounds since her arrival at Richmond.—*Suffolk Correspond.*, i., 110.

me on the borders of the Thames, in the districts of Richmond and Twickenham. It is here I have passed an entire year of my life, without any fixed abode in London, or more than a transitory glance for a day, or two at most, in a month, on the pomps of the town."

Another celebrity, Gay, was one of the literary friends of the Princess, who, hearing that he had written a tragedy, "The Captives,"[34] invited him to the Palace to read it to her. "When the hour came," says his biographer, "he saw the Princess and her ladies all in expectation, and advancing with reverence too great for any other attention, stumbled at a stool, and, falling forward, threw down a weighty Japan screen. The Princess started, the ladies screamed, and poor Gay, after all the disturbance, was still to read his play."[35]

Pope gives a very unattractive picture of Court life, in a letter written to a female friend, after passing a few hours with some of the members of the Royal household: —"We all agreed that the life of a maid of honour was of all things the most miserable, and wished that every woman who envied it had a specimen of it. To eat Westphalia ham in a morning—ride over hedges and ditches, on borrowed hacks—come home in the heat of the day with a fever, and, what is worse a hundred times, with a red mark on the forehead from an uneasy hat—all this may qualify them to make excellent wives for fox-hunters, and bear abundance of ruddy-complexioned children. As soon as they can wipe off the sweat of the

[34] Played at Drury Lane Theatre in 1723.

[35] Dr. Johnson's "Lives of the Poets."

day, they must simper an hour and catch cold in the Princess's apartment; from thence, as Shakespeare has it, to dinner with what appetite they may; and after that till midnight, walk, work, or think, which they please. I can easily believe no lone house in Wales, with a mountain and a rookery, is more contemplative than this Court; and, as a proof of it, I need only tell you Mistress L—— [Lepell] walked with me three or four hours by moonlight, and we met no creature of any quality but the King, who gave audience to the vice-chamberlain all alone, under the garden wall."[36]

It was not long before the elements both of union and disunion began to appear in this litttle court.

> "Tuneful Alexis, on the Thames' fair side,
> The ladies' plaything, and the muses' pride,"[37]

had been touched by the charms of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who appears to have encouraged Pope into a delusion, out of which he was rudely awakened. Seeing "handsome Hervey" preferred to himself in this, as well as in other quarters, he covertly expressed his disdain of his successful rival and his fickle mistress. This coming to the knowledge of Lady Mary and John Hervey, they somewhat imprudently concocted a retort, which was anything but courteous: a bad feeling between the parties was thus engendered, which subsequently broke out into open enmity, and the circulation, in prose and verse, of the most bitter and malignant abuse that can be conceived.

[36] Works of Alexander Pope, v., 139, 1739.
[37] Aaron Hill.

The fashionable place of resort long known as Richmond Wells was opened on the ascent of the hill. Pleasure-grounds were laid out in the most attractive manner, and the idlers of the Court came to drink waters recommended for a great variety of complaints. In the house there was a theatre, under the direction of Colley Cibber. Balls also were given on Mondays and Thursdays, and there were raffles and other favourite amusements. In short, under the pretence of taking an aperient water, a vast amount of unhealthy dissipation was carried on, till the place became a rustic Ranelagh, in great fame with the beaux and belles of the Court of George I.[38]

There was also a "mighty pretty quarrel," as it stood, between two of the bedchamber women, Mrs. Howard and Mrs. Clayton. The latter, whose maiden name was Charlotte Dives, was married to William Clayton, a Lord of the Treasury—according to the received accounts, by no means a very brilliant one. Mrs. Clayton, it is said, having acquired the knowledge of a fact that the Princess desired should be kept secret, was much in her confidence, and Mrs. Howard was only in the confidence of her husband. There was a secret feud between them, and each apparently did her best to undermine the other. Although their characters have been differently estimated by the

[38] About the middle of the century, Richmond Wells lost its reputation as a medicinal spring; the theatre and all the gay paraphernalia disappeared, and the mansion of the Earl of Cardigan was built on the site.

Court gossips who supported them, it is perfectly plain that they understood their own interests.[39]

Mrs. Howard was also a favourite with Pope, no doubt because of her alliance with his political friends. Writing to Gay, July 13, 1722, he says: "Mrs. Howard has writ you something or other in a letter which she says she repents. She has as much good nature as if she had never seen any ill-nature, and had been bred among lambs and turtle-doves, instead of Princes and Court ladies."[40]

In a subsequent letter, describing an entertainment at Marble Hill, he says:—"I hope we shall be brought into no worse company when you all come to Richmond; for whatever our friend Gay may wish as to getting into Court, I disclaim it, and desire to see nothing of the Court but yourself."

Pope gives a description of his improvements at Twickenham, in a letter to a friend, dated June 2, 1725. "I have put the last hand to my works of this kind in happily finishing the subterranean way and grotto; I there found a spring of the clearest water, which falls in a perpetual rill, that echoes through the cavern day and night. From the river Thames you see through my arch up a walk of the wilderness to a kind of open temple wholly composed of shells, in the rustic manner; and from that distance under the temple you

[39] Mrs. Howard received a handsome addition to her income direct from the Prince when he became King. Mrs. Clayton took whatever she could get from all who desired Queen Caroline's favour. In 1735 her husband was created an Irish baron.

[40] "Works of Alexander Pope," iv., 169, 1742.

look down through a sloping arcade of trees, and see the sails on the river passing suddenly and vanishing, as through a perspective glass. When you shut the doors of this grotto, it becomes on the instant from a luminous room a camera obscura, on the walls of which all the objects of the river, hills, woods, and boats, are forming a moving picture in their visible radiations; and when you have a mind to light it up, it affords you a very different scene."

An event happened in the summer of 1727 that ruffled for a time the current of events at Richmond, but did not entirely change them. An express arrived at the minister's house at Chelsea on the 14th of June, that the King had died at Osnaburg, on the 11th. Sir Robert was at dinner, but immediately had a horse saddled, and rode with all haste to Richmond.[41] The minister may have felt some embarrassment during the journey. He had often, as his father's counsellor, opposed the Prince's wishes, and knew that the latter rarely mentioned him with a more flattering appellation than rogue and rascal; but he at once acted with consummate diplomacy and knowledge of character. The Prince of Wales was asleep in the Princess's bedchamber when the arrival of Sir Robert Walpole was announced by the lady-in-waiting, the

[41] As evidence of the exaggerations which affect nearly all cotemporary narratives, we refer to the account of this ride of about eight miles given by the editor of "Walpoliana," who says, on the authority of Horace Walpole, that Sir Robert killed two horses on the road, in consequence of the speed at which he made the journey.

Duchess of Dorset. Sir Robert was admitted, and told his errand in a few words; but the Prince, now King, as soon as he recovered from his surprise, was equally brief with his minister, and sent him to Chiswick to take his directions from Sir Spencer Compton, who was at that time Treasurer to the Prince of Wales, Speaker of the House of Commons, and Paymaster of the Forces.

Under such unpromising circumstances, how Walpole took his way from Richmond and crossed the Thames apparently to expedite his own dismissal from power, but really to make himself master of the situation, has frequently been told.[42] His plans were well laid, but their success was in a great measure owing to the co-operation of the new Queen, who led her husband, without seeming to influence him, to see the ability of the man he had so long detested, and how much his interests would be served by accepting him as his minister. The result was, that the waiters upon Providence, the leading opposition Whigs, who had built their political fabric on the contingency of their patron, the Prince of Wales's, accession to the Crown, found it tumble about their ears when they learnt that the hated minister of the old sovereign was appointed confidential adviser to his successor. There wanted but one drop of gall to overflow the cup of bitterness they were obliged to drink, and this they found in their forced exclusion from the courtly circle in which they had lived, moved, and enjoyed their political being. Their courtly friends of both sexes, as a

[42] Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," i., 31.

matter of course, adopted the altered views of their illustrious principals; and as no Prince of Wales was in England at this time, with whom they could play over again the game they had lost by having honours counted against them, they were forced to be contented with picking a quarrel or two with some of the courtiers, and writing a few libels against the government and the throne. A year and a half afterwards Prince Frederick, the eldest son of George II., arrived in England, and then they shuffled for a new deal—the reader will see with what result.

Gay wrote his fables for the instruction of the young Duke of Cumberland; but Dr. Johnson considers that his recompense did not realise his anticipations. When the Prince and Princess became King and Queen, Gay was again very sanguine; but he was again disappointed, when the subordinate post of gentleman-usher to the Princess Louisa, then a child, was offered him. He sent word to the Queen, excusing himself from the office, by stating that he was too old for it. He then paid diligent court to Mrs. Howard, to advance his interests at Court; but the lady, earnest in promises, effected nothing in his favour. She employed him to write love-letters for her to the Earl of Peterborough; but his recompense does not appear. Subsequently he produced the "Beggars' Opera," which drove him from Court, but obtained for him the patronage of the Duchess of Queensbury.

"How will you pass this summer?" writes Dean Swift to Patty Blount, "for want of a squire to Ham

Common or Walpole's Lodge—for as to Richmond Lodge and Marble Hill, they are abandoned as much as Sir Spencer Compton." Marble Hill, Twickenham, was the residence the King had presented to Mrs. Howard. Walpole had sagaciously passed over the King's mistress to gain the King's wife. His residence in the Park had given him many facilities for maintaining a friendly communication with her when Princess, and his intimate knowledge of her character was not only the source of the confidence with which he started on his journey from Chelsea, but of the long duration of her cordial support of his interests.

The Richmond Arcadia witnessed another quarrel, in which Lord Hervey was one of the principals—the other being the associate and friend of Pope, Pulteney. This arose entirely from other causes. To the Prince of Wales's Court the leading opposition Whigs were often attracted—of course to make political capital out of their intimacy with the heir-apparent to the throne; but when the Prince became King, and found that his interests were likely to suffer by calling Bolingbroke, Pulteney, and Co., to form a ministry, "the old familiar faces" at Richmond House were made to understand that their presence was no longer desired. Open war was at once declared. Bolingbroke and Pulteney set up a periodical called the *Craftsman*, in which appeared the most virulent attacks on the Court and the Government. Lord Hervey, who, on the 7th of May, 1730, had been appointed vice-chamberlain to the Queen, thought himself bound to answer them,

in virtue of his position. He therefore assisted in the publication of a pamphlet,[43] prefaced by a mock dedication to the patrons of that journal, which was much too true to be pleasant, and too clever to be suffered to pass unnoticed. Pulteney published a rejoinder in the *Craftsman*, in the form of "A Proper Reply to a late scurrilous Libel," which was so coarsely malignant against the vice-chamberlain and the minister Walpole, and indirectly against the King, that his Majesty, with his own hand, struck the author's name out of the Privy-council, and Lord Hervey sent him a challenge. They met on the 25th of January, 1731, attended by their seconds, Mr. Fox and Sir J. Rushout, in the Green Park, then called Upper St. James's Park, and encountered with small swords—the usual duelling weapon. Both were slightly wounded, when the seconds interposed, and the combatants appeared reconciled.[44]

This spirited conduct of Lord Hervey won him increased favour from his Royal patrons—indeed, the Queen distinguished him with particular marks of her consideration—among other favours, providing him with a horse that he might ride by her when her Majesty joined the Royal hunting parties that frequently took place at Richmond.

[43] "Sedition and Defamation Displayed," 1731. The authorship of this pamphlet has been attributed to Sir William Yonge. —*Coxe's Walpole*, i., 362.

[44] According to a letter printed by Archdeacon Coxe, written by Thomas Pelham in London to Lord Waldegrave, the British ambassador at Paris, giving an account of the duel, Lord Hervey denied the authorship of the offensive dedication.

It is very evident, from his own account of his services, that Lord Hervey played the part of agreeable gossip to both—for indeed his indefatigable spirit in acquiring the news of the day was often an acquisition to the Royal circle. For hours he was kept in attendance on the King, to answer questions respecting the sayings and doings of the Opposition—he was closeted with the Queen during her Majesty's breakfast, amusing her with anecdotes of everybody in any way known to her —and he was permitted to accompany the Princesses in their promenades, to enliven their routine life with accounts of the last new scandal in town, or the latest fashion in Paris. This intimacy had its disadvantages— it was misrepresented by others, and misunderstood by himself. The successful courtier desired to be an influential statesman; and when his ambition was not fully gratified,[45] his vanity received a wound that affected his opinion of those who, he fancied, were responsible for his disappointment.

It was not till 1727,[46] that Pope publicly attacked Lord Hervey. In the following year he published another satire,[47] but these were merely contemptuous allusions. In 1732[48] he poured the full measure of his wrath upon both Lord Hervey and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, under the names of Lord Fanny and

[45] In 1740 he obtained the office of Lord Privy Seal, succeeding Lord Godolphin, who was made Constable of the Tower. He died on the 8th of August, 1743.

[46] "Miscellanies."

[47] "Dunciad."

[48] Imitation of the second satire of the first book of Horace.

Sappho. Its coarseness and malice elicited a spirited reply in verse,[49] which is believed to have been their joint production, though it has been claimed for each; but as Lord Hervey wrote at the same period another poem on the same subject, under the title of "Letter from a Nobleman at Hampton Court to a Doctor of Divinity," the presumption is that Lady Mary had a considerable share in the composition of the preceding.[50] Cleverness and smartness may be seen in both, but the writers individually or conjointly were no match for their antagonist, who was the greatest master of satire that ever existed, not excepting Aristophanes. He retorted in prose, in the form of a letter that was masterly for its ingenious malignity; this was not immediately published, but in 1734 came out his brilliant epistle to Arbuthnot, containing the character of *Sporus*, in which nothing more savagely severe, or maliciously bitter, ever issued from a human brain. It has often been quoted, but we can see no practical good likely to arise from giving further circulation to so fierce an illustration of hatred. No additional manifestation of the quarrel appeared publicly for some time, though doubtless many a quiet recess at Richmond heard the sharp abuse which the courtiers lavished on the satirist. Pope, in a poem entitled "1738," followed up his advantage; but Lord Hervey, like the English army in the Peninsula, according to a French historian, did not know when he was beaten; and in 1742 entered the arena for a new trial of

[49] "Verses to the imitator of Horace."

[50] Rt. Hon. John Wilson Croker. Biographical notice to Lord Hervey's "Court of George II."

strength, or more probably for the feminine honour of having the last word.[51] The composition was respectable, but he was no more a Pope than Hercules, and his last effusion passed unnoticed.

At Barn Elms, Jacob Tonson retired from business to a snug villa, where the members of the Kit-cat Club, as well as some of the "eminent hands" who made his fortune, met to enjoy his profuse hospitality. A large room was adorned with portraits of the members of the club, painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, which were engraved and published in a volume in 1735, dedicated to the Duke of Somerset. There were forty-three portraits, and amongst them were the most distinguished Whigs of the day. Tonson, originally secretary to the club, had amassed a princely fortune; and his only regret when he died, nearly eighty years of age, in 1736, was, that he could not have the world to begin again, as then he might have been possessed of a hundred thousand pounds instead of eighty thousand.

How the publisher was sometimes patronized by the Court, may be learnt by a letter from Sir John Vanburgh to Jacob Tonson:—

"I have just now been with Lord Carlisle, who has named Friday for the Barnes expedition; I have seen Lady Marlborough [the Duchess], and agrees to it, and will order a barge at Whitehall. The company she names, are—two ladies besides herself, Lord Clare, Lord Carlisle, Horace Walpole, Dr. Samuel Garth, and Mr. Benson."

[51] "The Difference between Verbal and Practical Virtue, exemplified in some instances, both Ancient and Modern.

Sir Robert Walpole assisted Tonson's nephew and namesake to make as large a fortune, having used his influence to procure an extension of a valuable monopoly which had been granted to Jacob Tonson the elder. The business, which commenced in 1677, was carried on in the same name till the year 1800.[52] The elder Tonson is "the dog" who refused Dryden a sum of money—he is the "left-legged Jacob" of Pope, and is pilloried by Dryden as appearing—

> "With leering look, bull-faced and freckled fair,
> With two left legs, with Judas-coloured hair,
> And frowsy pores that taint the ambient air."

But the cleverest squib, at the expense of the worthy bookseller, was written by an Eton scholar, as Jacob's epitaph :—

"Vitæ volumine peracto,
Hic finis Jacobi Tonson,
Perpoliti sociorum principis ;
Qui velut obstetrix musarum
In lucem edidit
Fœlices scriptorum chorus,
Et frangite calamos,
Ille vester margine erasus deletur ;
Sed hæc prostrem inscriptio
Huic primæ mortis pagina,
Imprimatur,
Ne prelo sepulchri commissus
Ipse editor careat titulo,
Hic jacet Bibliopola
Folio vitæ dilapso,
Expectans novum editionem
Auctiorem et emendatiorem."[53]

[52] Nicholl's "Literary Anecdotes," i., 296.

[53] Jacob Tonson III., High Sheriff of Surrey in 1750, was the

The Kit-cat Club must have been a particularly jovial community; and whenever they assembled at Barn Elms, if the entire society did meet together under that hospitable roof, few mansions in Surrey could have boasted of better company. Amongst them were six dukes—Duke of Newcastle, Charles Seymour Duke of Dorset, William Cavendish Duke of Devonshire, Charles Lennox Duke of Richmond, Charles Fitzroy Duke of Grafton, and John Duke of Montagu; one marquis, Evelyn Pierrepoint Marquis of Dorchester; fifteen lords, Henry Earl of Lincoln, C. Sackville Earl of Dorset, Richard Lord Lumley, Charles Howard Earl of Carlisle, Algernon Capel Earl of Essex, James Earl of Berkeley, John Vaughan Earl of Carbery, Charles Lord Cornwallis, Charles Montagu Earl of Halifax, John Lord Somers, Thomas Earl of Wharton, Charles Montagu Earl of Manchester, Lionel Cranfield Sackville Earl of Dorset, Charles Lord Mohun, and Francis Lord Godolphin—besides Sir Robert Walpole, Spencer Compton, Lieutenant-General James Stanhope, Hon. William Pulteney, John Dormer, John Tidcombe, Abraham Stanyan, John Dryden, Sir Godfrey Kneller, Sir John Vanburgh, Sir William Congreve, Joseph Addison, Sir Samuel Garth, Sir Richard Steele, Arthur Mainwaring, and George Stepney.

Tonson of Dr. Johnson and Steevens, and appears to have been the most popular of the family with authors, as well as with other persons with whom he came in contact. He removed the portraits from Barnes to an estate he possessed at Water Oakley, near Windsor, where he built a domed room for their reception. He did not live long to enjoy his new house, and it was sold to the Duke of Argyll.

It is within the reach of probability that some of these worthies found their way to Sir Robert Walpole's house at Richmond; but if they started from Jacob's hospitable board after dinner, they could not have gone there in a very straight road.

Respecting this club, Sir John Vanburgh, writing to Jacob Tonson, August 12, 1725, says, "You may believe me when I tell you, you were often talked of, both during the journey (to Castle Howard) and at Stowe; and our former Kit-cat days were remembered with pleasure. We were one night reckoning who were left, and both Lord Carlisle and Cobham expressed a great desire of having one meeting next winter; and if you came to town—not as a club, but as old friends that have been of a club, and the best club that ever met."[54]

The hospitality which Walpole maintained at Richmond assisted materially in keeping him in his post as Prime minister; but to the solid pudding he added more sterling gifts, when a troublesome patriot had to be gained to the Government from the ranks of the Opposition. In writing to Cardinal de Fleury, on the prospect in this country of continuing the peace between France and England, he acknowledged that he subsidizes one-half the Parliament to keep down its belligerent spirit, and recommends a liberal expenditure among those Englishmen who cry out loudest for war. It was this knowledge of the orators who inveighed against him, when his influence was on the wane, that

[54] "Gentleman's Magazine," May, 1857.

elicited his celebrated dictum, "All men have their price." Horace Walpole says that he expended 15,000*l.* in improvements in the mansion he inhabited in Richmond Park. What he expended in bribery we are not told; but it has been confidently advanced that he bought George the Second for 800,000*l.* a-year, and Queen Caroline for 100,000*l.* a-year, with Somerset House and Richmond Lodge—for the latter he contrived to have settled upon her.

The Clarendon family threw out branches that took firm root in Richmond. Of the four daughters of the first Lord Rochester, the first, Anne, was wife of James Duke of Ormonde, who built Ormonde Lodge; Henrietta was married to James Earl of Dalkeith (eldest son of the Duke of Monmouth), from whom the Ducal family of Buccleugh descend; Mary, to Francis Seymour, Lord Conway, ancestor of the Marquis of Hertford; the last, Catherine, died unmarried. Another resident was Walpole's son-in-law, Lord Cholmondely, who built a magnificent mansion near the river, by which he was impoverished, and then strove to borrow money to furnish it. The site is now known as Cholmondely Walk.

The Duke of Queensbury, who was distinguished as the friend of Gay, and of many other literary men of eminence, was Charles, the third Duke. His being a resident at Richmond arose principally from his marriage with Catherine, youngest daughter of Henry Earl of Clarendon and Rochester, by whom he had two sons, who predeceased him. This amiable and eccentric lady

took so warm an interest in the author of the "Beggars' Opera," that she offended the Court at Richmond, where she ceased to appear after a particular demonstration of her partiality, when the poet was in disgrace for ridiculing certain members of the Government. Her estrangement does not appear to have affected her spirits. Her house became the home of Gay, and the rendezvous of the wits in opposition. Many of her letters are preserved in the "Suffolk Correspondence." They prove her to have been one of the liveliest of the very lively coterie that assembled at the Lodge, or in its vicinity. In one dated September 28, 1734, addressed to the Countess, the Duchess writes:—"I often want poor Mr. Gay, and on this occasion extremely. Nothing evaporates sooner than joy untold, or even told, unless to one so entirely in your interest as he was, who bore at least an equal share in every satisfaction or dissatisfaction which attended us." "Poor Mr. Gay" had died nearly two years before.

CHAPTER XII.

Queen Caroline and her Improvements at Richmond—Satirical Portraits—Costume—French Fashions Ridiculed—Whiston—Dr. Adam Clarke—Duke of Cumberland—Duchess of Marlborough—Horace Walpole and Strawberry Hill.

QUEEN CAROLINE is described by Horace Walpole as having been very handsome at her marriage, after which she had the small-pox, but was little marked by it; and her countenance always retained a most agreeable expression, full of majesty or mildness, with eyes peculiarly penetrating. Her voice was equally pleasing, and her hands beautifully small, plump, and graceful. Her understanding was uncommonly strong; and so was her resolution. Her devotion to the King was as great as her desire to govern him. She wished to be a patroness of learned men, but George II. had no respect for them or their works; and her Majesty's own taste was evidently not particularly refined. She

valued money but as the instrument of her good purposes. Whenever the King entered the room where she was, at Richmond or elsewhere, the Queen rose, courtseyed, and retired, or offered to retire. Sometimes his Majesty condescended to bid her stay.[55]

The secretary of Sir William Temple, after he had become famous as an author, continued to feel a deep interest in Richmond. He wrote to Lord Chesterfield (November 10th, 1730), recommending, for some appointment in the office of lord steward, "an honest man, whose name is Launcelot." Lord Chesterfield, in reply, dated Hague, Dec. 15th, N.S., 1730, said, "I very well know the person you recommend to me, having lodged at his house a whole summer at Richmond." [56]

To Richmond Lodge the Queen retired whenever her Majesty could get away from town or persuade the King to accompany her Their visits are recorded as frequent in the summer. The first session of Parliament after his Majesty's accession was scarcely over, when he went there, as he said, "because it was an old acquaintance."[57] Its having become the property of the Queen did not appear to make it less his own; and whether hunting with his minister in the park, sharing the amusements of his consort, or entertaining his leisure with Mrs. Howard, he was equally at home. Walpole, however, was more necessary to him than his

[55] "Memoirs of the Court of George II."

[56] Chesterfield's "Letters." Edited by Lord Mahon, iii., 64.

[57] Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," i., 106.

wife's dresser; and when the former was absent in Norfolk, during the election of 1734, enjoying the society of Miss Skerrett, to whom he was afterwards married, the enemies of the minister were trying to undermine his influence at Court. At this crisis, we learn from good authority, Lord Hervey, who was every day, and all day, at Richmond, saw this working, and found their Majesties "staggering;" upon which he wrote an anonymous letter to Sir Robert Walpole, with only these few words in it, quoted out of a play :—

> "While in her arms at Capua he lay,
> The world fell mouldering from his hand each hour."

Sir Robert knew the hand, understood the meaning; and, upon the receipt of this letter, came immediately to Richmond.[58]

It was here that Lady Bristol is stated, by the same industrious Court-gossip, to have said that she overheard the King, in the next chamber to her own, in high words with its occupant, Mrs. Howard.[59] As this was a little before the deaf lady's retirement, the Royal lover may have raised his voice to a higher pitch than must have been customary with him when addressing her—provoked, probably, by an attempt of hers to forward the interests of some of her political friends, the mention of whose names was quite sufficient to excite his anger.

It was while walking in the gardens at Richmond, in 1736, where the Queen passed every Saturday during the

[58] Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," i., 332.

[59] Ibid., 423.

summer, Sir Robert Walpole advised her Majesty to humour the King's passion for Madame Walmoden, which elicited a long letter from that most submissive of wives to the King, at Hanover, requesting him to bring his mistress with him to England.[60]

The position of Mrs. Howard, after she became Lady Suffolk, could not have been very agreeable, if the following description of it be correct:—

"No established mistress of a sovereign ever enjoyed less of the brilliancy of the situation than Lady Suffolk. Watched and thwarted by the Queen, disclaimed by the minister, she owed to the dignity of her own behaviour, and to the contradiction of their enemies, the chief respect that was paid to her, and which but ill compensated for the slavery of her attendance, and the mortifications she endured. She was elegant; her lover the reverse, and most unentertaining, and void of confidence in her. His motions, too, were measured by etiquette and the clock. He visited her every evening at nine; but with such dull punctuality, that he frequently walked about his chamber for ten minutes with his watch in his hand, if the stated minute was not arrived."

The following poem, written in her praise, is gracefully turned:—

"ON A CERTAIN LADY AT COURT.

"I know a thing that's most uncommon;
(Envy be silent, and attend!)
I know a reasonable woman,
Handsome and witty, yet a friend.

[60] Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," ii., 177.

Not warp'd by passion, awed by rumour;
Not grave through pride, or gay through folly—
An equal mixture of good-humour,
And sensible, soft melancholy."

"Has she no faults then," (Envy says), "sir?"
"Yes, she has one, I must aver:
When all the world conspires to praise her—
The woman's deaf, and does not hear."

In the middle of May the King had left St. James's to embark at Gravesend; and the Queen had gone to Richmond, taking with her her children, her lady and woman of the bedchamber in waiting, and her vice-chamberlain. Prince Frederick, Lord Hervey says, "pretended that he designed to follow her next day, and stay at his house at Kew till the Queen returned to Kensington to open her commission of Regent, which she never used to do till the news was brought of the King's being landed in Holland."

This, of course, is mere conjecture. Nine-tenths of the Vice-Chamberlain's statements have no better authority. The King remained abroad, and much alarm was excited at Court, by a violent storm that raged with great severity in the Channel, when it was thought he was returning. At last news of his Majesty's landing arrived.

Sir Robert Walpole had gone to his favourite hunting lodge; so Lord Hervey, as he himself states, despatched a messenger from Richmond Palace to him to let him know the good news, but did not venture to tell him that the Queen was displeased with his devotion to Miss Skerrett at such a time.

Among the Queen's improvements were a hermitage and a grotto formed in Richmond Gardens—the latter was decorated with a figure of the enchanter Merlin, and some busts of celebrated personages. A collection of books was placed here, for study or recreation in this quiet retreat; and Stephen Duck, a thatcher, who, having shown some poetical ability, Queen Caroline endeavoured to raise into a clergyman, and he was appointed librarian when the place was finished, in August, 1735. The structure was much ridiculed in the Opposition journals, and Lord Hervey got scolded by the King for having suggested it. "My Lord," he exclaimed, in the middle of a conversation respecting the brass gates to Henry VII.'s chapel, "you are always putting some of these fine things into the Queen's head, and then I am plagued with a thousand plans and workmen;" then, turning to the Queen, he said, "I suppose I shall see a pair of these gates to Merlin's Cave, to complete your nonsense there." The Queen smiled, and said Merlin's Cave was complete already; and Lord Hervey, to remove the King's fears of this expense, said that it was a sort of work, that if his Majesty would give all the money in his exchequer, he could not have now. "Apropos," said the Queen, "I hear the *Craftsman* has abused Merlin's Cave." "I am very glad of it," answered the King; "you deserve to be abused for such childish, silly stuff; and it is the first time I ever knew the scoundrel in the right." [61]

Some of Mrs. Clayton's correspondents affected a

[61] Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," ii., 49.

prodigious interest in these improvements at Richmond, but the engravings and descriptions of Merlin's Cave extant do not convey a very high opinion of the architectural taste either of Queen Caroline or of her Vice-Chamberlain. For a time, however, it was a favourite spot with courtiers of both sexes who affected solitude or study. The career of the librarian was as brief as it was unfortunate. The wholesome air and labour he had lost were ill exchanged for confinement and studies foreign to his previous habits of thought. The transplantation into a Court atmosphere did not agree with him; his mind became affected, and he committed suicide.

Gay was invited to write verses on the hermitage by Pope, in a letter dated Oct. 2, 1732. "Every man and every boy is writing verses on the Royal hermitage. I hear the Queen is at a loss which to prefer, but for my own part I like none so well as Mr. Poyntz's in Latin. You would oblige my Lady Suffolk if you tried your muse on the occasion." Gay died in the following month, at the Duke of Queensberry's house, in London. Pope, notwithstanding his ostensible aversion to Courts, had been constantly urging his friend Gay to play the courtier. In a letter to him, dated Sept. 23, 1714, he says, "Pardon me if I add a word of advice in the poetical way. Write something on the King, or Prince, or Princess. On whatever foot you may be with the Court, this can do no harm." [62]

George II. was short in stature, and Queen Caroline

[62] "Works of Alexander Pope," iv., 163.

stout in person; and to these characteristics the Opposition wits, in *Fog's Journal* and the *Craftsman*, were never tired of referring. The daily promenades and rides at Richmond brought the Royal pair under the writers' notice, as they were sauntering about the precincts of the Court, intent on a new lampoon or a fresh scandal; but there exists no necessity for transferring their malicious ingenuity to these pages. The King, as is well known, publicly snubbed his consort, and privately yielded to her influence; and the Queen, to maintain it, submitted to the most open affronts.

But the lampooners were not all of the Opposition. Her Majesty's Vice-Chamberlain, as we have already shown, cultivated a satirical vein; and, in a poetical epistle addressed to his Royal mistress, in 1736, while he eulogized the Queen and the minister, dealt quizzical allusions right and left,[63] in anything rather than courtly language. If the writer has given a faithful report of the routine at Richmond Lodge, more cannot be said in commendation of the taste that received so equivocal a demonstration of respect, than of the feeling that offered it.

Another attempt to furnish his patroness with amusement took a dramatic form, and is entitled "The Death of Lord Hervey, or a Morning at Court." Here the Queen, and the Princesses Emily and Caroline, are pleasantly caricatured. The ladies of the bedchamber, Pembroke and Burlington, with Mrs. Clayton, now Lady Sundon, woman of the bedchamber, are then in-

[63] Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," ii., 149.

troduced, while morning prayers are being said in the adjoining chamber. We trust that the indifference to religious observances, which the Court dramatist makes the Queen openly sanction, is over-coloured. Unfortunately there is concurrent testimony for it. Subsequently comes a political conference between Sir Robert Walpole and the Queen, which does not place her Majesty in a more amiable light. The third act is a description of a "Drawing-room" conversation, in which the foibles of the Dukes of Argyll, Grafton, and Newcastle, and of the Duchesses of Hamilton and Rutland, are put forward and made ridiculous. The discussion on the supposed death of Lord Hervey, which runs through the dialogue, is then put an end to by the announcement of his being in the adjoining gallery.[64]

Lords Wilmington and Harrington are thus grossly caricatured in Lord Hervey's epistle addressed to the Queen; the lady named in the fourth line cannot be identified:—

"Oh! let me then describe, without control,
This idiot pon, or t'other idiot troll:
Some are so great, to name them is offence—
But mayn't I mention 'Mrs. Eighteenpence?'
Or 'Privy Nasy,' with his open mouth,
His eyes half-shut, and at each corner froth;
When, grinning horribly a ghastly smile,
I hear him (snorting, belching, all the while)
Tell you that 'two and two he's sure makes four';
That 'fruit too ripe is flat, unripe is sour';
Internally, at least (that's not uncivil),
Good Queen, let me repeat—oh! dummer Teuffel!

[64] Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," ii., 159.

Much harder measure at your hands he found;
My touch is but a fillip, yours a wound.
When 'Cow-Tail,' tott'ring, waddles through your rooms,
And with his useless velvet budget comes,
Mayn't I reflect upon his riddle—fate,
Obscured in eminence, and mean in state?
An exile made, by an uncommon doom,
From foreign countries to his native home;
The vain with titles and distinctions graced,
By favours hurt, by dignities debased,
And sunk upon the steps that others raised.
This statesman's fortune (odd as it may sound),
In that of your old china may be found;
For first at an enormous price you bought him,
Then never us'd him, and, laid by, forgot him."

Another passage reflects on the Duke of Newcastle, who was then improving his mansion at Claremont:—

"But what can you, oh, Queen! from dulness dread,
Who can resist such loads of verbal lead?
Who, if stupidity did poison bear,
Must die, like Hamlet, poison'd at your ear;
When, after Walpole's clear strong sense, you deign,
To let his echo, in enervate strain,
Lisp all that sense in nonsense o'er again;
By turns of Asoph, and of Clermont talk,
Of armies, marches, and a well-turf'd walk,
A falling empire, and a planted oak.
Thrice happy genius! that can handle still
These diff'ring topics with an equal skill;
Yet some allege these honours not his own—
Kent makes his gardens, his despatches Stone;
But this is all the envy of a Court,
(Where worth resides will envy still resort),
For Stone to aid his Grace no more is able
Than Backenswants to manage Pomfret's stable."

The satirist now becomes more general in the distribution of his *dis*honours to these Richmond courtiers:—

"Let each great courtier dignify his sphere:
Let Shaw snuff candles when at night you play;
And when you dress at noon, your chaplain pray;
Let all the cabinet, with ductile hand,
Sign what they read, and never understand;
Let dupes you rally thankfully receive it;
Let Teed mill chocolate, and Purcell give it;
What others dictate, let great statesmen write,
And we, Gold Keys, learn all to read at sight:
Let Wilmington, with grave, contracted brow,
Red tape and wisdom at the Council show,
Sleep in the senate, in the circle bow.
Let Harrington still strive, and Isla swim,
This always with, and that against the stream;
Argyll abuse the Bishops, Bishops him,
Till e'en abuse becomes a tedious theme;
Let Hare abjure the heresies he wrote,
And broil us all for being what he taught.
Sherlock the Church's crippled state deplore,
Give up her doctrines, but still grasp her pow'r.
Gibson cabal, and honest Patter grunt;
Grantham set chairs, and miser Grafton hunt;
Let one, the extent of his discourse to show,
Vary comment ça va? and how do you do?
T'other his journals eloquently tell,
Which hound first hit it off, what horse did well;
Let nauseous Selkirk shake his empty head
Through six courts more, when six have wish'd him dead;
Charlotte and Schutz like angry monkeys chatter,
None guessing what's the language or the matter."

The Queen passed her evenings usually in her private

apartment at quadrille with her lady-in-waiting, Mrs. Schutz, and Lady Charlotte de Roussil; whilst the Princess Caroline, Miss Dives (one of her maids of honour), and Lord Hervey, played pools at cribbage; and the Duke of Newcastle, Princess Emily, and the rest of the chance-comers of the family, played at basset.

Lord Hervey did not go entirely unrewarded, either by his Royal or political patrons. He received an addition of 1000*l.* a-year to his income,[65] was created a peer in 1733, and was more than ever favoured by the Queen and the Princesses. Her Majesty, as we have stated, presented him with a hunter; and on hunting-days, at Richmond, he acknowledges he never stirred from his post beside her carriage. He adds, "she called him always her child, her pupil, and her charge;" used to tell him perpetually that his being so impertinent and daring to contradict her so continually, was owing to his knowing she could not live without him; and often said, "it is well I am so old, or I should be talked of for this creature."[66] If the mother escaped this contingency, the daughter did not. Lord Hervey even had the audacity to intimate the interest he had, or fancied he had, created in the heart of the Princess Caroline, in the dramatic production noticed in a preceding page.[67]

The costume of the Court of George II. is illustrated in "The Marriage à la Mode," and other works of

[65] Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," i., 382.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid., ii., 161.

Hogarth, as well as in the cotemporary portraits of the nobility and gentry.

When the King reviewed the Guards in the year 1727, he wore a suit of grey cloth faced with purple, and carried a purple feather in his hat;[68] but the fashion of his clothes differed in nothing of any importance from that he had adopted during his father's reign. Queen Caroline, however, was much more fond of dress, and delighted in variety. She was also partial to masquerade habits, and by her example peopled Richmond Park with shepherds and shepherdesses, clad after that courtly simplicity and rustic elegance with which the works of Watteau have rendered us familiar. The Queen, the Princesses, and the ladies and gentlemen of the Court, here formed an Arcadia of their own, where maids of honour looked and acted Delias and Chloes, to Strephons and Corydons, in the persons of lords of the bedchamber and grooms of the stole. Charming, no doubt, were the pastoral scenes, got up evidently—by the jewels that glittered from under the little hats of aristocratic milkmaids—"quite regardless of expense;" and delightful, beyond question, must have been the eclogues that were talked by their courtly swains when bending over them in blue satin breeches and pink stockings, supported by a gilt crook, and displaying a diamond ring and a gold snuff-box. The Queen, however, was not always playing at rural felicity in this fashion; she was often the centre of a group of Amazons, that accompanied the

[68] *Whitehall Evening Post*, August 17.

King in his hunting excursions. We learn from a newspaper, that the three eldest Princesses "went to Richmond in riding-habits, with hats and feathers and periwigs."[69] As equestrianism was much in fashion, the approximation to male attire it produced, at a distance caused mistakes sometimes to be made as to the sex of the riders—particularly when the gentlemen wore very long-skirted coats.

The head of the lady of fashion, after having been duly curled and powdered, was either enveloped in a capuchin (hood) or small cap; the skirts of her long stomachered saque were displayed over an enormous drum (hoop), and she wore slippers of embroidered velvet in clogs with very high heels. The gentleman wore a short curled wig, also powdered, with a bag behind, and had his face closely shaved. The following description is taken from a quizzical poem, published about the middle of the century, and might have applied to many a Richmond exquisite who flourished at this time:—

"And now for to dress up my Beau with a grace:
Let a well-frizzled wig be set off from his face;
With a bag quite in taste, from Paris just come,
That was made and tied up by Monsieur Frisson;
With powder quite grey—then his head is complete:
If dressed in the fashion no matter for wit:
With a pretty black beaver tucked under his arm—
If placed on his head it might keep him too warm;
Then a black *solitaire* his neck to adorn,
Like those of Versailles by the Courtiers there worn.

[69] *Whitehall Evening Post*, August 17, 1727.

His hands must be covered with fine Brussels lace,
With a sparkling brilliant his finger to grace;
Next a coat of embroidery from foreigners come,
'Twould be quite unpolite to have one wrought at home.
With cobweb silk stockings his legs to befriend,
Two pair underneath his lank calves to amend;
With breeches in winter would cause one to freeze,
To add to his height must not cover his knees;
A pair of smart pumps made up of grained leather,
So thin he can't venture to tread on a feather:
His buckles like diamonds must glitter and shine—
Should they cost fifty pounds, they would not be too fine;
A repeater by Graham, which the hours reveals,
Almost over-balanced by knick-knacks and seals.
A *mouchoir* with musk his spirits to cheer, [near.
Though he scents the whole room that no soul can come
A gold-hilted sword with jewels inlaid—
So the scabbard but cane, no matter the blade:
A sword-knot of ribbon to answer his dress,
Most completely tied up with tassels of lace:
Thus fully equipped, and attired for show,
Observe, pray, ye belles, that famed thing called *a Beau!*"[70]

Among the historical characters who moved in the Court circle at Richmond, there were several who displayed the ambition of being considered "The glass of fashion and the mould of form." Prominent among them must have been the Queen's Lord Chamberlain, with reference to whom Lady Mary Wortley Montagu said, that the world was composed of "Men, Women, and Herveys." His quarrel with Pope brought upon him a satire, for which the Twickenham inkstand must have been charged with extra gall. Nevertheless, he

[70] "Monsieur à la Mode."

was an accomplished nobleman, and wrote both prose and verse with considerable ability. He enjoyed, in an eminent degree, the confidence of his Royal mistress, and this he grossly abused by keeping a record of the proceedings of the Royal family, which, whether faithfully stated, or, as we would rather consider, greatly exaggerated, was taking an unfair advantage of his position.

Philip Dormer, Lord Stanhope, married the daughter of the Duchess of Kendal (Countess Platen); his subsequent title is familiar from his having been the author of a code of manners known far and wide wherever the English language is read. The Earl of Chesterfield was a statesman as well as a man of fashion, and put forward pretensions to the character of a wit and scholar. Though he neglected Dr. Johnson, and his notions of etiquette studiously ignore both morality and religion, we cannot help a feeling of admiration for the earnestness with which he played out his part in what, no doubt, he looked upon as the genteel comedy of life. His "Give Dayrolles a Chair," just as the curtain was about to fall on his well-dressed performance, was singularly characteristic.

The satirists were very severe in their attacks upon female fashion in the year 1745—especially a writer at Scarborough, who had inveighed against their hoops and hats;[71] but this elicited a sharp reply from a lady signing herself "Annabella," who retorted on the assailant by calling him a drone and a fool.[72] The poet, with as

[71] "Gentleman's Magazine," xv., 440.
[72] Ibid., xvi., 38.

much good sense as good nature, offered an apology, laying the blame of the follies he had ventured to criticize, on the mimicry of giddy girls.[73] Annabella claimed the privilege of her sex, but her last word was tolerably civil.[74] The conflict did not end here. Another poet entered the lists; and his picture of "The Modern Fine Lady," as many an example appeared in the public walks at Richmond, is thus pourtrayed :—

"At Hackney or at Chelsea[75] bred,
To dance, lisp French, and toss the head,
To romp, coquet, untruths to tell,
And scribble, though she cannot spell;
The fair—for that's their general name—
Burn with the thirst for public fame;
For this survey her in the morning
With care and cost herself adorning;
Learn in the glass how to belave her,
And spoil the face that nature gave her;
Improve in patching, practice airs,
And in the hurry miss her prayers:
Then stuff'd in chariot roll away,
To hear the whisper of the day;
Or else, perhaps, the city haunt,
And cheapen what she does not want;
Refuse to pay her mercer's bill,
To save her honour at quadrille.[76]

"Thus smit with ev'ry vice in fashion,
And careless of her reputation,

[73] "Gentleman's Magazine," xvi., 169.

[74] Ibid., 214.

[75] These suburban villages were celebrated for their Ladies' schools.

[76] A game at cards.

Enamoured with the thirst of rule,
She weds a fashionable fool;
Secured by jointure from the cares
That wait on family affairs;
Nor home, nor husband, she regards,
But slights them both and sticks to cards.

"But years quick-rolling hold their pace,
And spoil the beauties of her face;
Her spouse, who hitherto had been
Slave to her shape, and eyes, and skin,
And with the glare of beauty smit,
Had thought that all she said was wit:
The fair unmasked has changed his song,
And swears that ev'ry word is wrong;
Hence distant carriage, sep'rate coaches,
Cold complaisance and warm reproaches;
Ill-nature, fretfulness, debate,
And silence, testify their hate;
While jealousy improves the smart,
And aids the quarrel, till they part.

"Now left at large and void of shame,
She fearless owns her guilty flame;
To some young spendthrift falls a prey,
Who flatters less for love than pay;
Proud of her conquest, she repairs,
With art, the ruins of her years;
Intent on mischief, helps the want
Of beauty with the use of paint:
Till old, neglected, and forlorn,
She finds herself the general scorn;
Too full of pride and spleen for thinking,
As her last comfort, takes to drinking;
This lulls the vapours as they rise,
And keeps her stupid till she dies."

Here the painter of this truly Hogarthian "Marriage à la Mode," possibly thinking to soften any ill-feeling in the sex his severe strictures were calculated to create, adds :—

> "Yet still remains a noble theme,
> On which to build immortal fame:
> Still Britain boasts a lovely throng,
> To grace the land and poet's song,
> Who, 'midst the conquests of their eyes,
> Attract the virtuous and the wise;
> Charmed by their conduct, and their wit,
> The world applauds, the brave submit." [77]

The poetical attacks on the idlers and dandies that appeared in the periodicals contemporaneously with the preceding, are too coarse for republication. The ungallant scribblers were put to shame by the following curious anacreontic encomium on a belle at Richmond :—

> "I tell with equal truth and grief,
> That little C——'s an errant thief!
> Before the urchin well could go,
> She stole the whiteness of the snow;
> And more, that whiteness to adorn,
> She stole the blushes of the morn;
> Stole all the softness æther pours
> On primrose buds in vernal show'rs:
> There's no repeating all her wiles—
> She stole the Graces' winning smiles;
> Twas quickly seen she robbed the sky,
> To plant a star in either eye;

[77] "Gentleman's Magazine" for June, 1746.

She pilfer'd orient pearl for teeth,
And stole the cow's ambrosial breath;
The cherry steep'd in morning dew,
Gave moisture to her lips and hue.
These were her infant spoils, a store
To which in time she added more:
At twelve she stole from Cyprus' Queen
Her air and love-commanding mien;
Stole Juno's dignity, and stole
From Pallas sense to charm the soul;
She sung—amaz'd the Syrens heard,
And to assert their voice appeared;
She played—the Muses from their hill
Wondered who thus had stole their skill;
Apollo's wit was next her prey,
And then the beam that lights the day;
While Jove, her pilferings to crown,
Pronounced these beauties all her own,
Pardoned her crimes, and praised her art;
And t'other day she stole—my heart:
Cupid! if lovers are thy care,
Revenge thy votary on this fair;
Do justice on her stolen charms,
And let her prison be—my arms." [78]

Queen Caroline was fond of the society of learned men, especially when her Majesty was residing at Richmond; and among others who received the honour of an invitation to join her there, was William Whiston, a distinguished mathematician, scholar, and divine. She had a great opinion of his sincerity—generally a rare quality in courts—and once made a severe trial of it, by enquiring what people thought of her. "They

[78] "Gentleman's Magazine," December, 1746.

justly esteem your Majesty," he replied, "as a lady of great abilities, a patron of learned men, and a kind friend to the poor." This answer not being considered quite satisfactory, the Queen asked, "But no one is without faults—pray what are mine?" Whiston begged to be excused taking so much responsibility upon himself, as a faithful answer might have brought with it. But on her Majesty insisting on hearing the truth, he told her that she did not behave with proper reverence at church. The Queen, acknowledging her impropriety, said apologetically, "The King would talk to her." "A greater than Kings," answered the good priest, firmly, "was there only to be regarded." This she readily acknowledged, and ingenuously confessed that she was to blame. "And now," said she "pray tell me what is my next fault?" "When your Majesty," replied her companion, "has amended in that particular, I will proceed with the list."[79] The conference ended, and the Queen did not tax Mr. Whiston's sincerity again on any subsequent visit to Richmond.

Her Majesty was much pleased with another eminent scholar and divine, Dr. Thomas Morell, for some time curate of Kew and Twickenham. At her desire he wrote "Notes and Annotations on Locke on the Human Understanding," which, when writing, he acknowledged he was "preparing for Merlin's Cave at Richmond."[80] The circle of eminent scholars

[79] Nichol's "Literary Anecdotes," i., 505.

[80] "Gentleman's Magazine," v., 498.

around the Queen was a large one, and several are in some way or other associated with Richmond. Dr. Adam Clarke, when her Majesty was making improvements in the Park, wrote a poem on the hermitage, which he forwarded in a latter to Mrs. Clayton, full of compliments to her Majesty.[81] Dr. Bentley was the Queen's librarian, and she loved to get him and Dr. Clarke into an argument before her—possibly the more abstruse the better. Pope has introduced the great critic in the "Dunciad," after entering the Queen's service:—

> "Before them marched that awful Aristarch;
> Ploughed was his front with many a deep remark:
> His hat, which never veiled to human pride,
> Walker with reverence took and laid aside.
> Low bowed the rest: he kingly did not nod:
> So upright Quakers please both man and God.
> Mistress, dismiss that rabble from your throne—
> Avaunt! is Aristarchus yet unknown?
> The mighty scholiast, whose unwearied pains
> Made Horace dull, and humbled Milton's brains."

Dr. Clarke forwarded to Mrs. Clayton a notice, in the *London Journal* of that time, of the hermitage and the busts with which it had been decorated, stating that "When her Majesty consecrated these dead heroes she built herself a temple in the hearts of the people of England." The gardens laid out by the Queen at Richmond were much admired. The Duke of Leeds visited those belonging to the Duchess d'Orleans near Paris; but though his Grace acknow-

[81] "Memoirs of Lady Sundon," ii., 113.

ledges them to have been very beautiful, he considers them inferior to Richmond.[82]

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu refers to the gardens on Richmond Hill in a letter to her daughter the Countess of Bute, dated from Louvere, July 21, 1747.[83]

George II. was very fond of Richmond, and liked nothing better than a ramble about the Park. This had become so absolute a necessity, that the Queen would make any personal sacrifice to accompany him. As she suffered much from gout, her attention on these occasions must have cost her dear; but she never hesitated—first giving her inflamed feet the benefit of a cold bath, and then walking about with him for several hours. When at Richmond her Majesty did everything to keep him amused—the pleasantest people were invited, and the most cheerful scenes got up from day to day for his entertainment. Many a *fête champêtre* arose under her auspices, canopied by the bowery trees, where, on the flowery sward, the beauties of the Court in their quaint costume, and their stately beaux dressed in the foppery of the time, affected the innocent pleasures of rustic life.

The Queen's excursions on foot are thus noticed by Pope in a letter to the Earl of Peterborough, August 24, 1728—"Our weekly histories are only full of the feasts given to the Queen and Royal family by their servants, and the long and laborious walks her Majesty takes every morning."

[82] "Memoirs of Lady Sundon," ii., 115.

[83] "Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu," iv., 19. 1803.

The only courtier who appears to have been dissatisfied with the gay doings at Richmond, was Lord Hervey. He stigmatises his share in them as "that disagreeable stage-coachman's life."[84] He describes Court life at Hampton Court as even less interesting—in short, he was a grumbler. Yet he had no reason to be, for he was liberally rewarded. Another distinguished member of the Court was Sir Andrew Fountaine, of Harford, a connoisseur in works of Art and a collector. He had been tutor to the Duke of Cumberland, and had succeeded Sir Isaac Newton as warden of the mint. He was known to everybody, and knew everyone worth knowing.

The Duke of Cumberland was well known to be the favourite of the King and Queen, to the prejudice of their heir the Prince of Wales.

After the great battle of Culloden, won by him in his 26th year, a precept was issued by the judges to the high-sheriff of Surrey, to summon a jury for the trial of the prisoners at the Court-house, on St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark. The grand jury were severally called from Croydon, Streatham, Addiscombe, Putney, Bermondsey, Kennington, Clapham, Camberwell, Rotherhithe, Southwark, and Lambeth; but not from Richmond or the immediate neighbourhood. Nothing could exceed the popularity of the young Duke. Following Walpole, it has been customary to mention him as "the Butcher," and to give him many other ugly names; but it is scarcely possible to express the hero

[84] "Memoirs of Lady Sundon," ii., 229.

worship with which he was received when he returned to Kensington from his victorious campaign against the young Pretender. The periodicals were filled with anecdotes of his modesty and piety. After the battle, he is said to have taken a solitary walk over the field, and, with hand upon his breast and eyes elevated to Heaven, was heard to say, "Lord, what am I, that I should be spared, when so many brave men lie dead upon the spot."[85] He always gave the honour of the triumph to God, and was not in the slightest degree affected by the adulation he received from that large body of Englishmen, who were grateful for having been relieved from a great danger. Among other compliments a flower was dedicated to him, the cultivation of which became general in the gardens of Richmond and elsewhere. A poet of the day thus describes it:—

"The pride of France is lily white,
The rose in June is Jacobite,
The prickly thistle of the Scot
Is Northern knighthood's badge and lot;
But since the Duke's victorious blows,
The Lily, Thistle, and the Rose,
All droop, and fade, and die away.
Sweet William's flower rules the day;
'Tis English growth, of beauteous hue,
Clothed, like our troops, in red and blue;
No plant with brighter lustre grows,
Except the laurel on his brows."[86]

The bells of Richmond rung merrily on his return to England. His Royal Highness was appointed ranger

[85] "Gentleman's Magazine," xvi., 235.
[86] Ibid., for August, 1746.

of Windsor Park, and on the day appointed for a general thanksgiving.

The Duchess of Marlborough, who was also a resident in the neighbourhood, was severely satirised by Pope in the well-known character, "Great Atossa." Her Grace may have deserved this kind of castigation, but in the third quarter of the nineteenth century it is not easy to reconcile the mind to the fierce invectives applied by men to women in the second quarter of the last. The following passage is quoted, as characteristic of the great Duchess at the close of her career :—

> "Last night her lord was all that's good and great;
> A knave this morning, and his will a cheat.
> Strange by the means defeated of the ends,
> By spirit robbed of power, by warmth of friends,
> By worth of followers; without one distress,
> Sick of herself through very selfishness."

It was in the year 1747 that Horace Walpole secured a residence in the neighbourhood of Richmond, which he described as "A little plaything-house that I got out of Mrs. Chenevix's shop, and is the prettiest bauble you ever saw. It is set in enamelled meadows, with filigree hedges—

> 'A small Euphrates through the piece is roll'd,
> And little finches wave their wings of gold.'

Two delightful roads, that you would call dusty, supply me continually with coaches and chaises; barges, as solemn as barons of the exchequer, move under my windows; Richmond-hill and the Ham walks bound my prospects; but, thank God! the Thames is between me and the Duchess of Queensbury. Dowagers, as

plenty as flounders, inhabit all around; and Pope's ghost is just now skimming under my window by a most poetical moonlight."

A little later he adds, much in the same strain:—"The house is so small, that I can send it you in a letter to look at; the prospect is as delightful as possible, commanding the river, the town, and Richmond park; and, being situated on a hill, descends to the Thames through two or three little meadows, where I have some Turkish sheep and two cows, all studied in their colours for becoming the view."

He gives another illustration of Richmond life:—"I am just come from the play at Richmond, where I found the Duchess of Argyll and Lady Betty Campbell, and their court. We had a new actress, a Miss Clough—an extremely fine, tall figure, and very handsome; she spoke very justly, and with spirit. Garrick is to produce her next winter; and a Miss Charlotte Ramsay, a poetess and deplorable actress. Garrick, Barry, and some more of the players, were there to see these new comedians; it is to be their seminary."

The theatre on Richmond Green, even before the middle of the last century, neither wanted attraction nor a brilliant audience. At this time Strawberry Hill was putting forth its first set of battlements, and its possessor was studying the claims of connoisseurship and politics.

Lady Suffolk went from the Court to Marble Hill, Twickenham, to add to the list of Horace Walpole's gossips. Much she had to tell him that was rich in

scandal and eloquent with inuendo. The character of many a poor gentleman of the bedchamber was sacrificed during these confidences, and scarcely a maid of honour escaped with a whole reputation. The material of which courtiers were then composed was turned on the wrong side, and picked to pieces to show how much stuff mingled with the silk and gold thread it displayed before the world. Nor did Royalty escape; and the bullion was often shown to be a sham—the sterling metal mixed with much impurity, at times little better than copper gilt, that would not bear rough usage without betraying the native pinchbeck. We can imagine the enjoyment visible in the countenances of the Lord of Strawberry Hill and his communicative visitor, as they sat together in the snug cabinet of his little castle, receiving and pouring out these revelations. Nothing could equal it—except the satisfaction shared by a Jew receiver of stolen plate and the successful thief, when the fruits of a great burglary were so carefully battered that they could not have been recognised by their owners.

CHAPTER XIII.

Kew and its Distinguished Residents—Frederick Prince of Wales —His Court there—Marriage with the Princess of Saxe-Gotha —His death—Conduct of the Princess—Lord Bute—Bubb Doddington—Prince George—Princess Emily and Richmond Park —Literature—Music—Art.

Kew had participated in the advantages which the neighbourhood had gained by the residence of the Court at Richmond. A mansion was built here in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, for Charles Somerset (natural son of Henry Beaufort Duke of Somerset), who rose to high military distinction in the reign of Henry VIII., by whom he was created Earl of Worcester, and appointed Lord Chamberlain for life. In this house he lived towards the close of his career, and there died, April 15, 1526. At a mansion, called Suffolk Place, Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk lived with his Queen-wife in the same reign. It was subse-

quently inhabited by Wolsey's gentleman-usher (after he had been Treasurer of the Chamber to Edward VI. and Queen Mary) who commenced Chatsworth, and laid the foundation of the fortune of the great Ducal family shortly afterwards established there. Queen Elizabeth knighted a rich gentleman, Hugh Portman, who built a mansion here, which his descendant, Sir John Portman, sold in 1636. A little later Sir Henry Gates established himself here, in a mansion known as "The Dairy House;" and it appears to have been subsequently occupied by Sir Robert Lord Dudley, after his marriage with Amy Robsart.

Here resided, in her youth, Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia. Here also lived Sir Henry Baron Capel, brother of Arthur Earl of Essex. He was one of the Lords of the Treasury in the reign of Charles II., and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1693. He married Dorothy, daughter of Richard Bennett, Esq., of Kew, and established here a garden on a large scale, possessing a beautiful orangery. His widow survived him, and is buried in the church. Sir Peter Lely, the Court portrait-painter, had a house here, to which, towards the decline of his life, he was fond of retiring from the contemplation of the beauties whose attractions he placed upon canvas. The house came into the possession of Samuel Molineux, Esq., who had been Secretary to George II., when Prince; and he erected here an Observatory, in which, in the year 1725, Bradley made those observations which led to his discoveries of the aberration of light, and the mutation of the earth's axis.

The mansion of the Bennetts was enlarged, as a residence for Frederick Prince of Wales; and the adjoining land, which formed part of the manor of Shene, and had long been uncultivated fields, was drained and planted, as pleasure-grounds to the palace. His Royal Highness had an establishment here, in which he lived with a modest degree of state, that might, however, have satisfied his inclinations, had not certain influential members of the Opposition taken advantage of the disposition exhibited by the King to throw him as much as possible in the back-ground, and deprive him of the emoluments and privileges belonging to his position as heir-apparent. The King, when Prince of Wales, had received an allowance of 100,000*l.* a-year; he granted his son 24,000*l.*, and retained the large balance in his own hands. When this was represented to the Prince, and he began to be straitened in his circumstances, as he possessed princely tastes, the gratification of which not only absorbed his income, but plunged him into debt, considerable dissatisfaction was created. The Queen, unfortunately, the more to show her excessive devotion to her husband, betrayed the most violent prejudice against her son, which she expressed in language as much at variance with everything resembling maternal feeling, as with every rational idea of the conduct of a Queen. This of course widened the breach, and the two Courts of Richmond and Kew were in a state of unnatural feud.

The Prince of Wales married the youngest daughter of the reigning Duke of Saxe-Gotha, and never had

cause to regret his union. The Princess was very young, but possessed extraordinary amiability, as well as good sense, that won the praise of those who were only too willing to find fault.

"The Princess of Wales," Lord Hervey declares, "was but seventeen years old when she came to England—knew not a mortal here, and was suffered to bring nobody but one single man with her; so that in this situation, and brought from the solitude of her mother's country-house in Saxe-Gotha at once into the crowd, intrigues, and pomp of this Court, the bare negative good-conduct of doing nothing absurd might reasonably prejudice sensible people in her favour."[87]

There was, however, a good deal more than this negative merit—indeed, high qualities of mind and heart, which she showed under the most trying circumstances. Her person Lord Hervey tries to damn with the same faint praise:—"The Princess was rather tall, and had health and youth enough in her face, joined to a very modest and good-natured look, to make her countenance not disagreeable; but her person, from being very ill-made, a good deal awry, her arms long, and her motions awkward, had, in spite of all the finery of jewels and brocade, an ordinary air, which no trappings could cover or exalt." This description is a gross exaggeration.

Upon the Prince's marriage, the King increased his allowance from 24,000*l.* to 50,000*l.* a-year; but he made ungracious arrangements respecting the Prince's

[87] "Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second," ii., 115.

household, that widened the breach between them, and threw his son more completely into the hands of the adventurers—male and female—by whom he was surrounded. Prominent among the latter was the lady of Lord Archibald Hamilton, to whom the Prince was said to have formed an attachment before his marriage.

Lord Hervey states, that whilst the Prince was at Kew, he and Lady Archibald Hamilton, Dunoyer the dancing-master, and the Princess used to walk three or four hours every day in the lanes and fields about Richmond. The young Princess falling ill there, the Prince sent to the King and Queen to beg they would give leave to Yager, their German house-apothecary, at Hampton Court, to come and see her, which accordingly they did. "Sir Robert Walpole having 'very politely,' as the Queen told me," adds Lord Hervey, "came and tapped her on the shoulder, while she was at Chapel [at Richmond], to deliver this message from the Prince, and ask her permission and the King's to send Yager immediately."

The Court at Kew is described by the same authority as having as many subdivisions in it, in proportion, as that of Hampton Court. Lady Archibald Hamilton, it is represented, had interest enough to suffer nothing to be done but by her influence. The Duke of Marlborough asked for his sister, Lady Bateman, to be lady of the bedchamber to the Princess; and Lord Cartaret made the same request for his daughter, Lady Dizard; Lord Chesterfield asked that employment for Lady Frances Shirley; and Lady Pembroke for her

sister-in-law, Lady Howe. Lady Archibald is said to have prevailed on the Princess in favour of Lady Charlotte Edwin, the Duke of Hamilton's sister, who desired to be lady of the bedchamber to the Princess.

In this quarrel in the Royal family, there is no doubt that the Prince spared neither his father's ministers, nor his father's courtiers; and hence comes the offensive portraits of him that have been handed down to posterity by Horace Walpole and Lord Hervey. But to the last painter of Court manners he gave additional cause of hatred, by having attracted from him a young lady to whom he professed, though a married man, the most tender relations; and a highly characteristic passage of his "Memoirs" describes the satisfaction with which Lord Hervey assisted his former mistress, when, in consequence of the Prince's marriage his Royal Highness was forced to break off his intimacy with her, in annoying and bullying the Prince into an arrangement, that differed totally from the one his Royal Highness had proposed.[88]

Prince Frederick lived principally at Kew, where he employed his time usefully in planting and in embellish-

[88] The lady was sister of Henry Vane, first Lord Darlington, and one of the Queen's maids of honour. Miss Vane had a son by Prince Frederick, christened in 1732 Fitz-Frederick Vane; but Horace Walpole, the genealogist of so many scandals, following Lord Hervey, has furnished this child with three fathers—the Prince, Lord Hervey, and the first Lord Harrington. The little Fitz-Frederick only lived four years; and his unfortunate mother died in the same year, shortly afterwards—"Suffolk Correspondence," i., 407. Lord Hervey's share in this discreditable transaction is related at large in his "Memoirs," chapter i., vol. ii.

ing the grounds. Some of the fine trees, which now excite the admiration of the thousands and tens of thousands of delighted excursionists who are permitted to ramble over the magnificent gardens, were planted under his direction. He also possessed great taste in the Arts, and collected a valuable gallery of pictures. He was a patron of literature, as well as of painting; and many an author has left on record his grateful sense of his Royal Highness's interest in his labours. Towards the conclusion of his life Prince Frederick rarely joined the Court at Richmond. According to the scandalous chroniclers of the time, he was disliked by his father, hated by his mother, scorned by his sisters, and obnoxious to every one; but if we are to be guided by their evidence, the Royal establishment was a happy family, in which almost every member was in bitter feud with somebody else. That Prince Frederick possessed some good qualities, is clear from many of his actions; the manner in which he distinguished himself at the fire that broke out in the Temple on the 4th of January, 1737, gained him great popularity; indeed, his behaviour on all public occasions appears to have been marked by good sense in an eminent degree. With his limited income his Royal Highness was liberal; but his great misfortune was in having such an adviser as Bubb Doddington, a man as shallow as he was unprincipled. The Queen's intense animosity, as pourtrayed by her Vice-Chamberlain, is inexplicable, unless taken as consistent with many other inconsistent things into which she was led by her devotion to her

husband. Possibly her partiality for her younger son, the Duke of Cumberland, may have had something to do with it.

The Queen died in the same year, and would not see her son before her dissolution, though he sent her a most filial message. Such was her extravagant devotion to the King.

An interesting anecdote is recorded of Prince Frederick, in a little work published in France soon after his death,[89] most probably written by the French teacher in the Prince's family. Having been employed in the Park, early in the morning, the Prince observed a crippled soldier, as he was being carried away in his sedan. He ordered the bearers to stop. "My friend, where did you lose your arm?" he enquired, kindly. "At Fontenoy," answered the man. "You look pale—are you ill?" "Yes, sir; I have been so enfeebled since the amputation of my limb, that any exertion is too much for me." The Prince asked why he had not applied to be placed on the list of out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital; and finding that he had wanted interest, ordered one of his suite to give the soldier four guineas, and told him to call on him in a few days. In this interval his Royal Highness made such use of his influence that the man was at once placed among the out-pensioners.

We place little reliance on the domestic pictures of Royalty which Horace Walpole and Lord Hervey have painted with that Dutch taste, rather than Dutch fidelity,

[89] "Bibliotheque Instructive et Amusanté."

which always makes a prominent object of something indecent or repulsive. They were satirists by profession, and caricaturists by nature. As far as regards the Prince of Wales, the well-known epitaph circulated by them after his death shows that he was more respected than any of his relations; it is, however, merely a Jacobite squib, in which the reigning family are held up individually to general contempt. His Royal Highness caught cold when occupied in his favourite pursuit—planting. The circumstances attending this fatal illness are thus described by Horace Walpole, in a letter dated

"Arlington Street, March 21, 1751.

"The Prince died last night between nine and ten. If I don't tell you ample details, it is because you must content yourself with hearing nothing but what I know to be true. He had had a pleurisy, and was recovered. Last Tuesday was se'nnight he went to attend the King's passing some bills in the House of Lords; from thence to Carlton House, very hot, where he unrobed, put on a light unaired frock and waistcoat, went to Kew, walked in a bitter day, came home tired, and lay down for three hours, upon a couch in a very cold room at Carlton House, that opens into the garden. Lord Egmont told him how dangerous it was, but the Prince did not mind him. My father once said to this King [George II.] when he was ill and royally untractable, "Sir, do you know what your father died of?—of thinking he could not die." In short, the Prince relapsed that night, has had three physicians ever since, and has never been supposed out of danger till yesterday: a thrush had appeared, and for the two or three last evenings he had dangerous suppressions of breath. How-

ever, his family thought him so well yesterday, that there were cards in his outward room. Between nine and ten he was seized with a violent fit of coughing. The cough continued; the Prince laid his hand upon his stomach, and said, 'Je sens la mort.' The page who held him up felt him shiver, and cried out, 'The Prince is going!' The Princess was at the feet of the bed; she catched up a candle and ran to him, but before she got to the head of the bed he was dead. Lord North was immediately sent to the King, who was looking over a table, where Princess Emily, the Duchess of Dorset, and Duke of Grafton, were playing. He was extremely surprised, and said, 'Why, they told me he was better.' He bid Lord North tell the Princess he would do everything she could desire, and has this morning sent her a very kind message in writing. He is extremely shocked—but no pity is too much for the Princess; she has six children, and is seven months gone with another; she bears her affliction with great courage and sense. They asked her if the body was to be opened; she replied, what the King pleased."

Walpole says of him: "His best quality was generosity; his worst, insincerity and indifference to truth, which appeared so early, that Earl Stanhope wrote to Lord Sunderland, from Hanover: "He has his father's head, and his mother's heart." There is no evidence of this, and the character of the Prince ought not to be taken from prejudiced sources. From more trustworthy quarters a very different estimate of him, moral and intellectual, is accessible. Dr. Newton, soon after his Royal Highness's decease, preached a sermon at St. George's, Hanover Square, in which is the following

passage:—"Religion hath lost a defender—liberty hath lost a guardian—trade hath lost a protector—the arts have lost a patrom—all mankind have lost a friend; for never was there in a person of such eminence more humanity and condescension to the lowest, more pleasing courtesy and engaging address to the highest, more beneficence to all within his sphere, or more benevolence to all without it."

Lord Chesterfield, in one of his letters to his son, wrote:—"The death of Frederick Prince of Wales, who was more beloved for his affability and conduct, has given concern to many, and apprehensions to all."[90]

The Princess was left with a family of four sons and two daughters. The eldest, George William Frederick, Lord Chesterfield described at the time as "Seriously, a most hopeful boy—gentle and good-natured, with good sound sense."

The King appears to have been so far affected by the death of his heir, as to regard the now desolate Court at Kew with something approaching to sympathy. He began even to exhibit it to the Royal widow and her children, and sent her consolatory assurances. The conduct of the Princess after the death of her husband was marked by prudence and sagacity, and she addressed herself zealously to the task of educating her fatherless children, with wonderful care, love and tact, superintending the moral and intellectual culture of the eldest. Much scandal has been insinuated respecting a nobleman whom her Royal Highness honoured

[90] "Letters," edited by Lord Mahon, ii., 123.

with her confidence, but the allegations will not bear the slightest examination. Lord Bute's introduction to Kew has been thus described :—

He resided in the vicinity of Richmond, and had an apothecary for his neighbour, who kept a chariot; the apothecary, intending to see a cricket match, proposed to take his neighbour with him. While the two were looking on there came down a sharp shower of rain, and the Prince of Wales, who had ordered the match, retired to his tent; his Royal Highness expressed a wish to wile away the time with a game at whist; two persons were found, but another being wanted, one of the Prince's suite recognised Lord Bute, and requested permission to invite him; this being granted, his Lordship went to the Prince's tent, and made so agreeable an impression, that he was invited to Kew, where he shortly completely established himself.

Lord Chesterfield states that Lord Bute came to town five or six years before the death of the Prince, to whom he was entirely devoted. He soon got to be at the head of the pleasures of the Court—became the *intendant* of balls, the Coryphæus of plays, in which he acted himself, and was much in favour with Prince Frederick.

Horace Walpole says that Lord Bute, after the death of Prince Frederick, attached himself wholly to Prince George, not only with the approbation, but at the request of the Princess Dowager; and with his usual exaggeration, adds, "In this he succeeded beyond his most sanguine wishes; he entirely engrossed not

only the affections, but even the senses of the young Prince, who seemed to have made a total surrender of them all to Lord Bute. In this interval, between the death of the Princess of Wales, and the expected death of King George II., the Princess Dowager and Lord Bute agreed to keep the young Prince entirely to themselves; none but their immediate and lowest creatures were suffered to approach him." All this is pure invention.

Bubb Doddington has left an account of his connection with the Prince, from which it appears, that, after an interview with his Royal Highness at Kew, the particulars of which he detailed to everybody, he entered the Prince's service as "Treasurer of the Chambers." He does not appear to have made friends with the other members of the household, and his position shortly became embarrassing, if not disagreeable. He however, was very kindly treated by both the Prince and Princess, and, under the date February 25th, 1749, thus records an old practical Court joke, which was newly revived for the occasion. "In the afternoon I met their Royal Highnesses, by order of Lady Middlesex, where came Madame de Munchausen, and Mr. Breton; we went in our own coaches to a fortune-teller's, who was young Des Noyers disguised, and instructed to surprise Madame de Munchausen, which he effectually did."[91]

A little later we find their Royal Highnesses sending for a real conjuror, when they were attended by Ladies

[91] "Diary," edition 1784, p. 43.

Middlesex and Howe, Lord Inchequin, Sir Thomas Bootle, and Bubb Doddington. They were generally more profitably employed. In the month of February, they, according to the diarist, "worked in the new walk at Kew—all of us, men, women and children, worked at the same place."

After the Prince's death, the Princess used to honour Doddington with an audience occasionally. Her Royal Highness was anxious to know how affairs were proceeding, in which she had a deep personal interest; and as Bubb Doddington was one of the greatest gossips of the time, knew everybody, and appeared to know everybody's business, it seemed that she could not seek a better channel for current news. He reports the communications her Royal Highness held with him at considerable length; they were generally political. We will condense some of them:—

"July 16th, 1752.

"By the Princess's commands I passed the day with her at Kew. We passed two or three hours alone in the garden. We came in an hour before dinner. I dined at the bedchamber-woman's table, where was Mr. Cresset, who behaved very courteously to me, and is a very knowing man. After dinner her Royal Highness sent for me. We walked round Richmond gardens; she was attended by the Ladies Augusta and Elizabeth, [the Princess's daughters], Messrs. Cresset and Bludworth."

The principal object of her conversations with Bubb Doddington was to learn the King's intentions respecting her and the Prince of Wales—for she was evidently

apprehensive of hostility from some members of the Royal family. Doddington was always received in a very friendly and open manner, and treated without reserve. On the 9th of October he says:—

"I got to Kew about half-an-hour after eleven. I saw her Royal Highness very soon; she, the Ladies Augusta and Elizabeth, and I went out, and we walked without sitting down for near *three hours*. We had much talk upon all manner of private subjects, serious and ludicrous; her behaviour was open, friendly, and unaffected. We again walked in the afternoon till it was dark; as we came in, she said that she had a petition from the Prince, that we would play at comet, [a fashionable game at cards], of which he was very fond. The party was the Princess, the Prince of Wales, Prince Edward, the Ladies Augusta and Elizabeth, Ladies Middlesex and Charlotte Edwin, and myself."

In these card parties with the Royal children, Mr. Doddington joined more than once. In future communications her Royal Highness made it clear to him that she did not approve of the negligent manner in which the Prince of Wales was being educated. In the year 1753 the Bishop of Peterborough was appointed Preceptor to his Royal Highness—a change that gratified his affectionate mother, for Doddington writes:—

"I waited on the Princess, and saw her alone. I entertained her with town-talk, and pleasantries that had passed where I dined. She began at once by saying, she had good news to tell me—that they were happy in their family; that

the new Bishop gave great satisfaction; that he seemed to take great care, and in a proper manner; and that the children took to him, and seemed mightily pleased."

His diary contains many similar entries to the credit of his conversational powers. Later the Princess spoke confidentially respecting the Prince, to whom she was deeply attached. She described him "as not a wild dissipated boy, but good-natured and cheerful, with a serious cast upon the whole—that those about him knew him no more than if they had never seen him. That he was not quick, but, with those he was acquainted, applicable and intelligent."

Whether Bubb Doddington, who was always babbling, reported these confidential conversations, does not appear; but something must have occurred to offend the Princess—for in December, 1755, there occurs an entry in his diary of a visit paid the Princess; "but her Royal Highness received me very coolly."

The Prince of Wales was educated at Kew, but frequently appeared at Richmond—his walks and rides being generally in this direction. As a youth he was distinguished by a quietude and gravity of manner that contrasted favourably with the reckless folly which too frequently characterised young men of fashion about the middle of the last century. A marriage was proposed for him, and Lord Waldegrave gives a most prejudiced account of the negociation respecting it:—"The Prince of Wales was just entering into his eighteenth year; and being of a modest, sober

disposition, with a healthy, vigorous constitution, it might reasonably be supposed that a matrimonial companion might be no unacceptable amusement. The Duchess of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, with her two unmarried daughters, waited on his Majesty at Hanover. The elder, both as to person and understanding, was a most accomplished princess; the King was charmed with her cheerful, modest, and sensible behaviour, and wished to make her his grand-daughter, being too old to make her his wife. I remember his telling me, with great eagerness, that had he been only twenty years younger, she would never have been refused by a Prince of Wales, but should at once have been Queen of England. Now, whether his Majesty spoke seriously is very little to the purpose; his grandson's happiness was undoubtedly his principal object, and he was desirous the match might be concluded before his own death." Lord Waldegrave continues, with very slight reference to truth:—"The King's intentions, it may easily be imagined, were not agreeable to the Princess of Wales; she knew the temper of the Prince her son; that he was by nature indolent, hated business, but loved a domestic life, and would make an excellent husband. She knew also that the young Princess, having merit and understanding equal to her beauty, must in a short time have the greatest influence over him. In which circumstances it may naturally be concluded that her Royal Highness did everything in her power to prevent the match. The Prince of Wales was taught to believe that he

was to be made a sacrifice, merely to gratify the King's private interest in the Electorate of Hanover. The young Princess was most cruelly misrepresented—many even of her perfections were aggravated into faults; his Royal Highness implicitly believing every idle tale and improbable aspersion, till his prejudice against her amounted to aversion."

This is entirely a Walpole view of the transaction. The Dowager Princess was a sensible woman, and whatever the merits of the Princess of Wolfenbuttel may have been, the former did wisely in dissuading her son from making too early a marriage; and both were too happy with their little Court at Kew to seek new responsibilities.

"The King's last years," according to Horace Walpole, "passed as regularly as clockwork. At nine at night he had cards in the apartment of his daughters, the Princesses Amelia and Caroline, with Lady Yarmouth, two or three of the late Queen's ladies, and as many of the most favoured officers of his own household. Every Saturday in summer he carried that uniform party, but without his daughters, to dine at Richmond; they went in coaches and six in the middle of the day, with the heavy horse-guards kicking up the dust before them—dined, walked an hour in the garden, returned in the same dusty parade, and his Majesty fancied himself the most gallant and lively Prince in Europe."[92]

One of the Princesses at this period rendered

[92] "Memoirs of George II."

herself extremely disliked at Richmond. The cause is thus described by Walpole in a cotemporary letter:—

"Arlington Street, July 27, 1752.

"There are great civil wars in the neighbourhood of Strawberry Hill. Princess Emily, who succeeded my brother in the rangership of Richmond Park, has imitated her brother William's unpopularity, and disobliged the whole country by refusal of tickets and liberties that had always been allowed. They are at law with her, and have printed in the *Evening Post* a strong memorial, which she had refused to receive. The High Sheriff of Surrey, to whom she had denied a ticket, but on better thought had sent one, refused it, and said he had taken his part. Lord Brook, who had applied for one, was told he could not have one—and, to add to the affront, it was signified that the Princess had refused one to my Lord Chancellor. Your old nobility don't understand such comparisons. But the most remarkable event happened to her about three weeks ago. One Mr. Bird, a rich gentleman near the park, was applied to by the late Queen for a piece of ground that lay convenient for a walk she was making: he replied, it was not proper for him to pretend to make a Queen a present; but if she would do what she pleased with the ground, he would be content with the acknowledgment of a key and two bucks a-year. This was religiously observed till the era of her Royal Highness's reign; the bucks were denied, and he himself once shut out, on pretence it was fence-month, (the breeding-time, when tickets used to be excluded—keys never). The Princess soon after was going through his grounds to town—she found a padlock on his gate: she ordered it to be broke open.

Mr. Shaw, her deputy, begged a respite till he could go for the key. He found Mr. Bird at home.

"'Lord, sir! here is a strange mistake; the Princess is at the gate, and it is padlocked!'

"'Mistake! No mistake at all. I made the road—the ground is my own property. Her Royal Highness has thought fit to break the agreement which her Royal mother made with me. Nobody goes through my grounds but those I choose should.'"

A suit-at-law was brought against the Princess by one of the inhabitants; and, after considerable litigation, which kept the neighbourhood in a state of the greatest excitement, a verdict was given against her. Her Royal Highness then resigned the rangership. The Princess Emily had previously distinguished herself by her animosity against her brother, Prince Frederick; and her behaviour to his widow had not been more amiable. The King, however, had become considerably more agreeable.

Lord Chesterfield writes to his son from Bath, on November 20, 1757:—

"The birth-day was neither fine nor crowded; and no wonder, since the King was that day seventy-five. The old Court and the young one are much better together since the Duke's [of Cumberland] retirement; and the King has presented the Prince of Wales with a service of plate."[93]

The King survived till the year 1760.

James Earl Waldegrave was necessarily at Richmond, in attendance on Kings George I. and II. By both

[93] "Letters," edited by Lord Mahon, iv., 241.

sovereigns he was much respected, and employed in embassies of great importance to the Courts of Austria and France. As a public character, he was eminent—as a private character, generally esteemed. He died on the 11th of April, 1746, aged 57. His eldest son, James, succeeded to his honours and to the confidence of George II.—though he filled no post, and never attempted to interfere in State affairs. He married, on the 15th of May, 1759, Maria, one of the illegitimate daughters of Sir Edward Walpole, the brother of Horace. She was as distinguished for her beauty as for her amiability and accomplishments. Her affection for her husband was undoubted during his life; and the inscription she placed upon his monument in Haverstock Church, Essex, where father and son were buried, testify to her reverence for his memory.

Towards the middle of the century a marked impulse was given to English literature, particularly to works of an imaginative character. The sorrows and virtues of Pamela moved the entire nation—gentle and simple. "The History of Clarissa Harlowe" appealed to a more courtly circle. This work rendered the author popular at Richmond, not less than in places equally the resort of rank and fashion; but "The History of Sir Charles Grandison" established his fame both at home and abroad. The artificial character of these pictures of society have long since been acknowledged—indeed, Richardson, either as a printer, apprentice, or foreman, enjoyed not the slightest opportunity of observing, except at a remote distance, the aristo-

cratic people he attempted to pourtray; but the dramatic cleverness of his narratives made amends for their deficiences—and no English novelist, not even Defoe, had been more generally read by the higher circles. Henry Fielding, who may be said to have belonged to the community thus delineated, being the son of General Fielding, and descended from the Earls of Denbigh,[94] observed the defect in the picture, and burlesqued "Pamela" in "Joseph Andrews"—the supposed history of her brother. This appeared in 1742, about two years after Richardson's work was published, and met with such success, that the author, who had been educated for the bar, devoted himself to literature; and among other works much read, produced his "Jonathan Wild." He supported the succession of the House of Hanover in a newspaper, called *The Jacobite Journal*, which procured him, through the influence of Lord Lyttelton, a pension, and the post of justice of the peace for Middlesex and Westminster. About the same period he brought out the greatest novel, and the best picture of human life that had ever appeared as a narrative, "Tom Jones." It immediately became fashionable; and, with all its faults of taste, that belonged to the age in which it was written much more than to the author, will always be popular. In the year 1751 Fielding published his last novel, "Amelia;" but the author's ill-health appears to have affected his imagina-

[94] Lieutenant-General Edmund Fielding was the youngest son of one of William III.'s Chaplains, Dr. Fielding, Canon of Salisbury, who was the fourth son of George, first Earl of Denbigh, and brother of the second Earl.

tion. He proceded to Lisbon, in the hope of deriving benefit from the mildness of the climate, but he died there in the summer of 1754, at the premature age of forty-seven. In the year 1748 appeared "Roderick Random," by Tobias Smollett, a young naval surgeon, who, with equal truth and vigour, but with considerable coarseness, delineated the society of the period. The work excited much attention, and was followed in 1751 by "Peregrine Pickle," which became equally popular. The author strove to advance himself in his profession, and anticipated hydropathy, by writing a treatise on "The External Use of Water," while he commenced practice as a physician at the head-quarters of fashionable invalids—Bath; but Dr. Smollett soon felt satisfied that such was not his proper vocation, and from this period devoted himself entirely to a literary career, through which it is quite unnecessary to follow him here. After twenty years of hard literary labour, his health sunk, and he also sought restoration in a foreign climate, but died at Leghorn in 1771.

Horace Walpole had also commenced his long career as an author, by producing, in 1752, his "Ædes Walpolianæ;" six years later he published his "Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors;" and now, with the assistance of a private press, at Strawberry Hill, he printed his own productions. It was not till the year 1764 that he produced "The Castle of Otranto," a romance that was extremely fashionable, though it cannot boast of a touch of nature from beginning to end.

Among other works that were highly appreciated, at this time, at Richmond, we must not forget "The Divine Legation of Moses," by Bishop Warburton, and "The History of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne's Reign," and "Gulliver's Travels," by Dean Swift. Both these distinguished authors, as we have shown, belonged to the Richmond coterie; indeed, the Dean was introduced to the Queen by the Bishop, about the year 1726. Two years later, however, not obtaining what he wanted from the Court, he abused Walpole and all the government—abused the King, and abused the Queen. He had, previously to this, been carrying on a sentimental intimacy with Esther Vanhomrigh (Vanessa); and this having come to the knowledge of Miss Johnson, she followed the Dean to Dublin. He reluctantly married her—so reluctantly, that he never acknowledged the marriage. Miss Vanhomrigh, in her turn, heard rumours which made her write to her rival for information; the letter was forwarded to the Dean, who went with it to the writer's residence, entered the room, flung it on the table, and at once left the house. The young lady took this conduct so much to heart, that she died a few weeks afterwards. The end of the Richmond romance was—Stella lived with him at the Deanery, but was only nominally his wife.

Poets abounded at this period of every intellectual calibre, between James Thomson and Stephen Duck. Both were intimately connected with Richmond; to the latter we have already alluded—the former de-

serves a much more important notice. In 1726 Mr. Miller published, for an obscure Scotchman much in want of a pair of shoes, a poem, called "Winter," the result of which did not enrich the publisher; nevertheless, its merits procured him an introduction to Lord Talbot. In 1727 he followed it with his "Summer," somewhat out of the natural order of the seasons; he filled up the gap in the following year with his "Spring;" but did not produce his "Autumn" till 1730; by this time he had found an honourable residence at Richmond, the scenery of which inspired some of the finest passages in the second division of the poem.

Thomson obtained an introduction to the Court circle, and, conjointly with David Mallet, wrote for Prince Frederick and the Princess of Wales, then (1740) staying at Clifden, the masque of "Alfred;" it was played before them. The poet was rendered independent of his muse by Sir George Lyttelton appointing him Surveyor-General of the Leeward Islands, the duties of which he performed by deputy, and spent the emoluments at Richmond. In the year 1748 he produced there his "Castle of Indolence," by some critics considered the finest of his works. He also wrote several tragedies and other poems, and died August 27th, 1748.

The residence of Handel in England, and his patronage by the Court, gave a powerful stimulus to the cultivation of music, under the influence of which the lyric opera was established, and that series of wonderful productions so well known, his oratorios, were

brought out; not, however, without great opposition, as musical rivalry was never made such an affair of partizanship as during his life, that terminated April 13, 1759.

Painting had passed from under the auspices of Sir Peter Lely to that of Sir Godfrey Kneller, who resided at Twickenham, and foreign portrait-painters had nearly monopolized the patronage of the Court from the reign of Charles II. English Art was now, however, more worthily represented by Hogarth, whose series of pictures called "The Rake's Progress," he produced before the middle of the century, as well as "The March to Finchley," and other well-known paintings; his representations of Court life, "The Marriage à la Mode," a few years later.

Before the Countess of Suffolk left the Court at Richmond for Marble Hill, she had been appointed mistress of the robes, which position enabled her to obtain further knowledge of the domestic arrangements in the Palace. From memoranda preserved by her, we learn that each Princess was allowed in winter two rich coats of velvet or silk, embroidered or trimmed, three brocaded or damask; a damask nightgown, and two silk under-petticoats. In summer, three flowered coats, one trimmed with silver, three plain; one nightgown, and four silk hoops, a pair of shoes a-week, and sixteen dozen pairs of gloves in the year.[95]

[95] The prices paid for the Queen were slippers with gold, 24*s.*; with silver, 21*s.*; plain gloves, 2*s.* 6*d.*; stays, 2*s.*; petticoats, 10*s.*; night-gowns, 3*s.*; girdles, silver, 23*s.*; gold, 25*s.* 8*d.* The Duke of Cumberland's shoes cost 5*s.* 6*d.* a pair, the Princesses 6*s.* 6*d.*; stockings, 7*s.* 6*d.*; hats, 21*s.*; feathers, 21*s.* The birthday suits of the Princesses averaged from 50*l.* to 60*l.*

CHAPTER XIV.

Lord Bute—Demolition of Richmond Lodge—George III. and Queen Charlotte at Kew—Sir Joshua Reynolds and Gainsborough—The Prince of Wales and Mrs Fitzherbert—Delusion respecting the Lass of Richmond Hill—Costume—Beauties of Richmond.

"THE death of King George II.," says an eminent cotemporary, "made room for King George III. He, like a new sultan, was lugged out of the seraglio by the Princess and Lord Bute, and placed upon the throne. Here the new scene opened: Lord Bute arrived from the greatest favour to the highest power, and took no care to dissemble or soften either, in the eyes of the public, who always look upon them with envy and malignity; but, on the contrary, avowed them both openly. He interfered in everything, disposed of everything, and undertook everything, much too soon for his inexperience in business, and for at best his systematic notions of it, which are seldom or never reducible to

practice. I would not be understood by this to blame Lord Bute; no, I lay the blame more justly upon human nature. Let us consider him as a private man, of a very small patrimonial estate, passing the greatest part of his life in silence and obscurity, never engaged in any business, and little practised in the ways and characters of men—at once raised to the highest pitch of favour and power, and governing three kingdoms; and then say whose head would not turn with so sudden and universal a change."[96]

This is an ill-natured estimate of the character of a minister by a rival politician. In another place the account is not more favourable—"When the King came to the Crown he was his groom of the stole, and would have done more prudently if he had continued some time in that post; but he was too impatient to shine in the full meridian of his power. He made himself immediately Secretary of State, Knight of the Garter, and Privy-Purse: he gave an English Peerage to his wife, and the reversion of a very lucrative employment for life to his eldest son. He placed and displaced whom he pleased; gave peerages without number, and pensions without bounds."[97]

Lord Bute had a long official career, extending from 1737 to 1763, and he could not have held the high offices he filled in the State, nor maintained his place in the King's confidence, had he not possessed eminent qualifications. He married the daughter of Lady

[96] Chesterfield's "Letters." Edited by Lord Mahon, vol. ii., p. 470.
[97] Ibid., p. 473.

Mary Wortley Montagu, by whom he had a large family, and survived till the year 1792.

The chief public buildings which deserved to be regarded as the most interesting memorials of Richmond, had one by one faded away to satisfy the demands of improvement. The palace of the Tudor and Stuart princes had suffered from various transformations, till scarcely any trace of the original structure existed, except the gateway beyond which Sir Robert Carey had anxiously waited to carry the first news of Queen Elizabeth's dissolution to Scotland. The monastery wherein Cardinal Pole had laid the foundation of those remarkable acquirements that led him within reach of the Papal tiara, had entirely disappeared; and now the same fate was marked out for that temple of many Venuses, the palace of Caroline of Brandenburgh-Anspach.

If George III. or his mother had received some humiliation from his grandfather or grandmother, that he had treasured up in his mind till the opportunity for wreaking a decisive vengeance had occurred, he could not have effected a more total destruction of everything connected with the glories or pleasures of the place: mansion, gardens, bowers, and avenues were swept from the soil, and the site was left a bare pasture. Instead of the mock Arcadia of Court wits and beauties, it was transferred into a genuine pastoral of cows and heifers; perfumed equerries and smiling maids of honour gave place to the shock-headed labourer, redolent of the farm-yard—and the sturdy damsel, too intent on her work to care how she looked. For "the beautiful

Molly Lepell" of the Court poet, the succeeding age was obliged to be content with the "Dorothy Draggle-tail" of plebeian song.

The King, though he carefully destroyed the romance of the scene, gave a substitute that ought in some measure to reconcile the reader to the change. Men of talent, in an earlier part of the century, always formed a portion of the *dramatis personæ*, which the regal manager of the Court company at Richmond gathered in her green-room; but now the Royal Society there, though fewer in number, were exclusively men of science, who were not to be satisfied with a distant acquaintance with the galaxy of small stars always found near the Queen. With the assistance of five-feet reflectors they made the most searching and persevering observations of the brightest planets that the much more elevated source of their aspirations could produce. In a word, astronomers superseded courtiers, and Richmond became celebrated as a field of scientific inquiry and experiment of the highest value in the study of the abstract sciences.

At the first establishment of the Observatory, it was under skilful superintendence, and the director was allowed a staff of scientific assistants; and though it was at Mr. Molineux's house, in the neighbourhood, that James Bradley arrived at those important discoveries already noticed, he subsequently became Astronomer Royal (1742); and, in conjunction with his pupil, Maskelyne, made other important observations, and, while boating on the Thames, ascertained the true theory of

the motion of the stars. In short, he may justly be said to have laid the foundation of modern astronomy in this neighbourhood, by the extent and value of his researches. Since this period the establishment has been maintained chiefly with a view to inquiries into magnetic phenomena, and for testing the value of certain scientific instruments. It pursues a modest career of usefulness, evidence of which may be seen in the transactions of the British Association for the advancement of Science.

George III. was attached to Kew, and was not indifferent to the attractions of Richmond. In the former his Majesty, after his marriage, 7th September, 1761, with the Princess Sophia Charlotte, daughter of the Prince of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, caused extensive improvements to be effected in the grounds, which were made to assume all the graces belonging to the new art of landscape gardening; and a variety of temples were erected in various places, some of which still exist, though somewhat out of favour. These were the Chinese Pagoda, a domed mosque, having three entrances, with a text from the Koran in golden Arabic characters over each; the temples of Bellona, of Pan, of Æolus, of Solitude, of Victory, and of Arethusa; there was also a theatre of Augustus, and a house of Confucius—the latter decorated in what was then considered the Chinese taste. It was a strange medley, but was then much admired.

The house that had belonged to Sir Hugh Portman, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was purchased for

Queen Charlotte in the year 1781. It became the Royal nursery; and, at a little later date, the young princes made a play-room of the lower chamber of the Observatory. The Prince of Wales was educated here, under the direction of Dr. Markham. A new palace was subsequently commenced close to it, of which James Wyatt was the architect; but the structure, though on a large scale, was never considered an ornament to the place, being one of those cumbrous attempts at the Gothic then in vogue. The Royal family lived in the old palace, to which the King was extremely partial; his Majesty proceeding from thence in the morning, to the Royal farm in Richmond Park, returning to an early dinner, then strolling or riding about the neighbourhood, often without the slightest appearance of state, evidently enjoying as much as he could the life of a country gentleman. His Majesty was constantly at Richmond, and contributed to its improvements in making a new road, in building the bridge, in restoring the church—in short, in doing whatever was recommended to his patronage by its utility. On October 4th, 1770, he had granted to the Queen the Manor of Richmond, and the office of steward and keeper of the Manorial Courts, with some reservations, particularly the site of Henry VIII.'s palace, which was now covered with buildings.

The rangership of the park had been conferred on the Earl of Bute, when it was resigned by the Princess Amelia; and that minister retained it till his death, in the year 1792, when the King took it into his own hands, and accomplished several improvements—among

them the gate-entrance from the hill, with the lodge erected in 1798. His private farm, of about 230 acres, was his chief source of interest; and there is reason to believe that the happiest portion of his blameless life was passed in its superintendence.

Though his Majesty took a great deal of out-of-door exercise, which made his person familiar to the entire neighbourhood, he was fond of reading; and if he selected a volume of poetry, Thomson was pretty sure of being preferred, for his descriptive power generally, but particularly for his picturesque reflections of scenes that the King had loved and admired from his boyhood. One well-known passage from the poet's "Summer" was often referred to:—

"Say, shall we wind
Along the stream, or walk the silent mead,
Or court the forest glades, or wander wild
Among the waving harvests, or ascend,
While radiant summer opens all his pride,
Thy hill, delightful Shene. Here let us sweep
The boundless landscape. Now the raptured eye
Exulting, swift to huge Augusta send;
Now to the sister hills that skirt her plain;
To lofty Harrow now; and now to where
Majestic Windsor lifts his princely brow,
In lovely contrast to this glorious view,
Calmly magnificent. Then will we turn
To where the silver Thames first rural grows;
There let the feasted eye, unwearied, stray.
Luxurious there, rove through the pendent woods,
That nodding hang o'er Harrington's retreat,
And sloping thence to Ham's embow'ring walks.
Now let us trace the matchless vale of Thames;

Fair winding up, from where the muses haunt
In Twickenham Bowers, to Royal Hampton's pile,
To Claremont's terraced height, and Esher's groves;
Enchanting vale! beyond whate'er the muse
Has of Achaia or Hesperia sung!
O vale of bliss, O softly swelling hills,
On which the power of cultivation lies,
And joys to see the wonders of his toil.
Heavens, what a goodly prospect spreads around,
Of hills, and dales, and woods, and lawns, and spires,
And glittering towns, and gilded streams, till all
The stretching landscape into smoke decays."

Queen Charlotte was equally partial to the neighbourhood, where she lived a life of the most perfect domestic felicity, surrounded by her fine family; and it was at Kew her Majesty died, Nov. 17th, 1818.

Many traits of character of our truly English sovereign have been preserved, his doings and sayings evidently having long been the daily talk of the loyal inhabitants for miles round the palace.

Riding once near Richmond, he observed a house that was either newly-built, or had undergone extensive alterations. On making enquiries for the proprietor, his Majesty learned that it belonged to his own card-maker. "Indeed!" the King replied, in his usual pleasant manner, "then I perceive that this man's cards have all turned up trumps."

The Queen was also extremely popular; for her Majesty never neglected a domestic duty—and in this excelled her predecessor, for she not only loved her husband but respected herself.

At Kew Palace, Dr. Beattie was honoured with an audience by the King and Queen after the publication of his "Essay on Truth," of which he has left in his diary a long account, under the date 24th August, 1773. At the end he says:—"The Queen sat all the while, and the King stood, sometimes walking about a little. Her Majesty speaks the English language with surprising elegance, and little or nothing of a foreign manner; so that if she were only of the rank of a private gentlewoman, one could not help taking notice of her, as one of the most agreeable women in the world."[98]

The domestic arrangements of the Royal family were singularly simple. His Majesty rose at half-past seven, attending with his family Divine service till nine, when they went to breakfast—the King and Queen sitting at the head of the table, and the Princes and Princesses according to seniority. The meal was over in half-an-hour. The King then rode out when the weather was favourable, with some of his children; at other times played at chess with General Fitzroy or General Manners. His Majesty dined at two, the Queen and Princesses at four. The hours after dinner were usually employed with his private secretary, or some of the ministers. The evening he passed in the Queen's drawing-room, where three card tables were set out, and a few visitors from the neighbourhood had the honour of an invitation. At ten these departed. At eleven the entire family retired to rest.

A curious notice of Richmond occurs in a diary,

[98] "Life," by Sir William Forbes.

recently published in Australia, under the date of April 18, 1775:—

"Went in one of the Brentford coaches to Kew Bridge—walked from thence along the Thames to Richmond, near which I met the King with a single gentleman and two of the Princes. I did not know him till I was cheek-by-jowl with him, and then I took off my hat."

The writer presently adds:—

"It would be heresy here to deny that Richmond still afforded the finest prospect in the world; and it would be false to deny that it afforded a rich one—*yet it has nothing picturesque to be seen from it!*—for it was the second and third distances."

Probably the author meant "though it has" the second and third distances. He concludes with a *nota bene*—"Richmond Hill is very coarse ground, covered with furze and rushes."[99]

Sir Joshua Reynolds, towards the close of his life, possessed a villa residence on Richmond Hill, that had been designed for him by Sir William Chambers. Here he frequently entertained his friends in the summer; and on one occasion taking a party with him for a stroll after dinner in Richmond Gardens, at the end of one of the avenues they came unexpectedly upon the King and some of the Royal family. His Majesty recognized him, called him to approach, and entered

[99] "A visit to England in 1775, by an Irishman," (the Rev. Dr. Campbell), edited, with notes, by Samuel Raymond, M.A. Sydney, 1854.

into conversation with him respecting the honour the artist had just received of being elected Mayor of Plympton, an honour with which he frankly told the King he was more pleased than with any other he had received, except the distinction of knighthood his sovereign had bestowed upon him. After an animated and interesting conversation, Sir Joshua was allowed to return to his friends.

Another great artist, Gainsborough, showed a similar partiality for the place, and, like Sir Joshua, many of his rustic models were met with in his rambles. Both were employed as Court portrait-painters, and both were singularly happy in delineations of humbler character. The following inscription in the churchyard at Kew indicates that the love of the great landscape-painter for the picturesque scenes of the district, ceased only with his life:—

"Thomas Gainsborough,
Died August the 2nd, 1788,
Aged 61 *years.*

He shares that humble resting-place with Meyer and Zoffani—artists of some repute in the early days of the Royal Academy.

In "a cottage of gentility," near the hill, the Prince of Wales here visited Mrs. Fitzherbert, soon after the commencement of her second widowhood. Many statements have confidently been made respecting their alleged marriage; but as it is now known that the Protestant clergyman who was said to have united them did not perform the illegal service, and as it has been

acknowledged that no Catholic priest was present, the ceremony must have been dispensed with. The lady was as amiable as she was beautiful; but certain pretended revelations of conversations at second hand, respecting sealed-up packets, recently published by a relative,[1] will not bear examination. Among other *facts*, Mrs. Fitzherbert is there made to have been the subject of the well-known song, "The Lass of Richmond Hill"—and much stress appears to have been laid on the couplet—

> "I'd crowns resign
> To call thee mine,"

as indicating, beyond the possibility of a doubt, the position of the author. It so happens, however, that, in the first place, the song was written by Bernard McNally, an Irish barrister; in the second, that its object was a Miss I'Anson; in the third, that its locality was Richmond Hill, *Yorkshire*. Nevertheless, the idea has now so completely taken possession of the minds of some of the inhabitants of the Surrey Richmond, that the song is one of their local illustrations: a tavern near the hill may be seen having a sign-board bearing a representation of a stage Rosina, with the title, "The Lass of Richmond Hill." In a recent work,[2] the original of the "Lass" is stated to have been Lady Sarah Lennox, and the poet, George III., when Prince of Wales.

[1] "Memoirs of Mrs. Fitzherbert," by the Hon. Charles Langdale.

[2] Leigh Hunt's "Court Suburb."

At the accession of George III. the costume of both sexes was sufficiently unpretending. The gentlemen wore the cocked hat and short wig now left to the coachmen of families of distinction; a wide-skirted coat to the knees, with large cuffs and pockets; a waiscoat that descended nearly half way down the leg, knee-breeches, stockings, shoes, ruffles, and a small black stock. The lady wore a small gypsey-hat, a gown with long stomacher and short sleeves, open with ruffles at the elbow, a moderate hoop and capacious skirt. This, however, was the ordinary dress of those who choose to imitate the modest costume of Royalty. All kinds of extravagances prevailed elsewhere, and Richmond and other public promenades daily exhibited a variety of gaudy sacques and surtouts—the latter with a profusion of large gilt buttons—embroidered scarlet waistcoats, high-quartered shoes, and elaborately curled head-dresses. Dandyism had made a marked progress in about twelve years, especially in dressing the hair, which was tortured into the most extraordinary shapes; the gentlemen wearing it in front as a *toupée*, shaped like a sugar-loaf, flanked by rows of curls, and tied behind into a club, which, when walking abroad, was surmounted by a hat ridiculously small, that on other occasions was carried under the arm. The ladies wore mountains of hair with side curls, decorated with jewels and a plume, or bunch of flowers. The same spirit pervaded other portions of the costume, as seen in the enormous bows of the cravat, short close-fitting coat with turn-down collar, bound and decorated with

lace or braid, and having frog buttons, short-waisted embroidered waistcoat, silk breeches with chains and seals hanging from each fob, and a bunch of ribbons at the knee, silk stockings and diamond-buckled shoes. The exquisite was also known by his dangling cane with a long tassel; and if he chose to be seen with a companion of the other sex, she was sure to be conspicuous by her long train and rich laced petticoat, elaborately ornamented in needlework—her many ruffled sleeves dropping from the elbow to the hips, and open boddice. The hoop was only worn by a lady when in full dress, with a bouquet in the bosom. Variations, however, from this type were constantly appearing, both in head-dress and gown; but the follies of fashion observable in the making up of the dandies and belles of the last quarter of the last century, formed a constant theme of ridicule.

In the year 1770 was written the following quizzical description of the dress of men of fashion as they appeared in public places:—"A coat of light green, with sleeves too small for the arms, and buttons too big for the sleeves; a pair of Manchester fine stuff breeches, without money in the pockets; clouded silk stockings, but no legs; a club of hair behind larger than the head that carries it; a hat of the size of sixpence, on a block not worth a farthing."[3] The dress of the other sex was quite as much the subject of satire: we hope none of the Richmond belles sat for the following picture:—

[3] "Monthly Magazine," October, 1800.

"Give Chloe a bushel of horse-hair and wool,
Of paste and pomatum a pound,
Ten yards of gay ribbon to deck her sweet skull,
And gauze to encompass it round.

Of all the bright colours the rainbow displays,
Be those ribbons which hang on her head,
Be her flounces adapted to make the folks gaze,
And about the whole work be they spread.

Let her flaps fly behind for a yard at the least,
Let her curls meet just under her chin;
Let these curls be supported, to keep up the jest,
With a hundred instead of one pin.

Let her gown be tucked up to the hip on each side,
Shoes too high for to walk or to jump;
And to deck the sweet creature complete for a bride,
Let the cork-cutter make her a rump.

Thus finished in taste, while on Chloe you gaze,
You may take the dear charmer for life;
But never undress her—for out of her stays
You will find you have lost half your wife."[4]

For several years very little effect was produced by rhyme or reason on the offenders of either sex. The Polonese gown continued the rage, and the calash or Therese enveloped the enormous head-dresses of the ladies; but the influence of Sir Joshua Reynolds at last effected a reform—the towering head collapsed into its natural dimensions, and the hair was allowed to flow naturally down the back; the dress also was somewhat curtailed in width and length. Towards the year 1790, an absurdity prevailed called a *buffont*, worn with short frilled jackets, that gave the fair wearer the appearance

[4] "London Magazine" for 1777.

of a pouter pigeon; and very short waists, with very narrow skirts, ridiculous bonnets covered with feathers and flowers, became the characteristics of ladies who wished to follow the fashion of the day. When the Royal family appeared at Richmond there was sure to be a grand display of these follies; and the engravings of its scenery, taken at different periods of the century, contain representations of the costume then prevailing.

In the meantime fashion received her votaries at Richmond as freely as ever, though the Court was generally at Kew, and was far more domestic than fashionable. Residents of the highest distinction increased, and the old families were very gay. Horace Walpole, though now an established author, connoisseur, architect, everything—crossed the Thames in his intervals of epistolary leisure, and entered into the full spirit of Richmond high-life, with the Selwyns, Conways, and other valued friends to be found in that locality. There were strange people, too, to be gossiped about, and strange hobbies to be laughed at. One of these was Lord Radnor, who had a curious place at Twickenham, which Walpole had christened "Mabland." The house and gardens, however, evidently possessed much attraction, for they were full of statues and works of art. Gray, in a letter to Wharton, says: "By all means see Lord Radnor's place again. He is a simple old Phobus; but nothing can spoil so glorious a situation, which surpasses everything round it."

The company at Richmond had lost nothing of its reputation for gaiety. One of the most celebrated *beaux* of the time is thus referred to by the Lord of Strawberry Hill—"Why should you not tell me what Storer said at Richmond? But whoever was offended must have forgiven him when he danced his minuet at the assembly, or he must have been a very hard-hearted person indeed."

This *beau* was an accomplished gentleman evidently. His saltatory qualifications are again noticed by the indefatigable fashionable newsvender:—"Your Richmond ball is in the newspapers. Lady Cooper, Mr. Selwyn, Mr. Storer, minuets, &c."

But Mr. Walpole had shortly news of deeper interest to communicate. His brother Sir Edward, though unmarried, had daughters whose extraordinary beauty made ample amends for the flaw in their birth. One had captivated the heir of one of the noblest families in Richmond; but she could not have been more satisfied of her conquest than was her uncle, who, writing to one of his friends, says:—

"I announce my Lady Huntingtower to you. I hope you will approve the match a little more than I suppose my Lord Dysart will, as he does not yet know, though they have been married these two hours, that, at ten o'clock this morning, his son espoused my niece, Charlotte, at St. James's church. The moment my Lord Dysart is dead, I will carry you to see Ham House—it is pleasant to call cousins with a charming prospect over against one. Now, you want to know the detail—there was none. It is not the style of our Court to

have long negociations. We don't fatigue the town with exhibiting the betrothed for six months together in public places. *Vidit, venit, vincit*—the young lord has liked her some time: on Saturday se'nnight he came to my brother, and made his demand. The Princess did not know him by sight, and did not dislike him when she did. She consented, and they were to be married this morning."

The nuptial ceremony was subsequently performed, after which we are told:—

"Lord Huntingtower wrote to offer his father eight thousand pounds of the young lady's fortune, if he would give them one thousand a-year in present, and settle a jointure on her. The Earl, however, merely, returned this laconic answer:—

"'Lord Huntingtower,—I answer your letter as soon as I receive it. I wish you joy. I hear your wife is very accomplished.

"'Yours,

"'Dysart.'"

Mary, the second daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, was still more fortunate; for, in 1750, she had married James, second Earl Waldegrave, who was Governor and Privy-purse to the King; and, after his decease, in 1763, became the wife of William Henry Duke of Gloucester, the King's younger brother, by whom she subsequently became the mother of William Frederick, the Duke of Gloucester, who died in 1834, and the Princess Sophia Matilda of Gloucester, ranger of Richmond Park, who died in 1844.

A jocose allusion to Lady Waldegrave occurs in a

poetical epistle to Lady Bab Evergreen, at Bath, from Miss Vizard, on the masquerade:—

"Whole groups were attentive while Lane talked so clever,
And Waldegrave's fair widow looked buxom as ever;
Full many a lover, who longed to accost her,
Was kept at a distance by Humphry of Glo'ster."

In the gay and brilliant group conspicuous was Kitty Clive. She was of Irish race, though born in London, and, having no better resource, took to the stage as a profession. Kitty Rafflers made her first appearance at Drury Lane, dressed as a boy. She was seventeen, with an attractive face and figure; and as she had nothing else to do but to sing a song and charm her hearers, it is not surprising that she obtained an encouraging reception. She subsequently played the part of Nell, in "The Devil to Pay"—a popular musical farce, founded on "The Taming of the Shrew"—and then became a theatrical star. Miss Rafflers married early, we are told, the brother of Baron Clive;[5] but her name is not preserved in the peerage.[6] Be this as it may, she was undoubtedly a sprightly, fascinating woman; and during her residence at Little Strawberry Hill frequently associated with Horace Walpole.

The high qualities of Catherine Clive are thus poetically summed up:—

"In spite of outward blemishes, she shone
For humour famed, and humour all her own.

[5] "Dublin University Magazine," cccxi.

[6] "The Lord Clive had a younger brother, William; but he died unmarried."—*Burke's Peerage.*

Easy, as if at home, the stage she trod,
Nor sought the critic's praise, nor feared his rod;
Original in spirit and in ease,
She pleased by hiding all attempts to please.
No comic actress ever yet could raise,
On humours's base, more merit or more praise."

A more distinguished beauty was the Hon. Anne Damer. Her father was Horace Walpole's friend and cousin, Field-Marshal Conway—her mother, Caroline, only daughter of John, fourth Duke of Argyle—her maternal grandmother, Mary Bellenden, one of the maids of honour of the preceding reign. Anne Conway had therefore hereditary claims to Richmond; and she appears always to have borne them in mind. A taste for Art led her to study modelling under Bacon, and her subsequent skill in sculpture won praise even from connoisseurs and dilettanti. She was also an accomplished actress; but confined her talents to amateur boards. At the private theatricals of the aristocracy, by Lord Henry Fitzgerald at Richmond, and others, her personations were pronounced admirable. She possessed much literary talent; wrote, among other things, a satirical comedy—"The Fashionable Friends;" but it did not please the dramatic taste of the town. Miss Conway married, in 1767, John, the eldest son of the first Baron Milton, subsequently Viscount Milton and Earl of Dorchester; but her husband was a thoughtless prodigal, who, having wasted his fortune, predeceased his father in 1776.

The present Richmond Theatre was built by David Garrick; and here this great artist often drew fashion-

able audiences to witness his successful impersonations, both in tragedy and comedy. When Pope had seen him act, he confidently told Lord Orrery, "That young man never had his equal as an actor, and never will." He took leave of the stage, June 10, 1776, and became a magistrate the following year. Garrick was one of the many celebrated men of his time who frequently made Richmond their place of re-union in the summer months. He died January 20, 1779; and the theatre, though the occasional appearance of a "star" would attract a good house, never enjoyed the fashion that filled it during his tenancy, till the great tragedian Edmund Kean became its proprietor, and once more nightly brought within its walls every lover of the drama then living in the neighbourhood.

In the eighteenth century the grave received the remains of the Poet of the Seasons, who died at Richmond, August 22nd, 1748. A tablet was subsequently put up to indicate his place of sepulture by one of his admirers in the year 1792, on which it is stated that the Earl of Buchan was unwilling that so good a man and sweet a poet should be without a memorial. Sir Matthew Decker, Bart., of Richmond Green, died in the year 1749. Rear-Admiral White, Governor of Greenwich Hospital, was also buried here, after fifty-two years of service. He closed his career July 11th, 1771. Also Richard Viscount Fitzwilliam, who died in 1776—and his lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Matthew Decker. Mrs. Yates, the celebrated actress, and her husband, 1787 and 1796.

CHAPTER XV.

Duke of Queensbury—Maria Fagniani—Mr. Addington—The White Lodge—Pitt and Nelson—The Marquis Wellesley—Sir Walter Scott—The Royal Family at Richmond—The Prince of Wales.

ONE of the most remarkable characters belonging to the Court of George III. was William third Earl of March—subsequently fourth Duke of Queensbury. Few noblemen were better known at Richmond, or more talked about in the neighbourhood. As he remained unmarried, he was the object of unceasing speculation; but his preference for the bachelor state arose from no dislike of the fair sex. Indeed, if one half of the scandalous gossip that has been circulated respecting him is to be believed, there never existed so general an admirer. He had many attachments—one was to an Italian lady named Fagniani, by whom his Grace believed he had a daughter; but as another

Richmond celebrity, George Selwyn, entertained a similar idea, it is not improbable that both were under a delusion. The little Marie Fagniani reaped the benefit of this double conviction; for her nominal fathers provided for her most liberally—the Duke in so princely a manner, that when she grew up, equally charming and accomplished, she was one of the most attractive heiresses in the kingdom.[7]

At one period of his career it was reported that Lord March was going to abandon the turf, of which he was one of its most active patrons, for the purpose of entering into a matrimonial alliance with Lady Henrietta Stanhope. This rumour produced a poetical squib, of which we can only find room for the first and last verses :—

"Stay, Jockey Lord, adventurous Maccaroni,
So spruce, so old, so dapper, stiff and starch;
Why quit the amble of thy racing pony?
Why on a filly risk the name of March?

"Stick to the Jockey Club—attend your bard,
Nor ever think of dancing love's cotillon;
For Ligonier, who galloped quite as hard,
Was doubly distanced by his own postilion."

At a later date the Duke is represented in a very different light.

"I remember," says Wilberforce, "dining, when I

[7] She married, May 18th, 1798, Francis Viscount Yarmouth, son of the Marquis of Hertford, who was Lord Chamberlain of the household. Lord Yarmouth, at the Duke of Queensbury's death, 22nd Oct., 1810, received by bequest to himself and wife the bulk of the Duke's enormous fortune; and, on the death of his father in 1822, became third Marquis of Hertford.

was a young man, with the Duke of Queensbury at his Richmond villa. The party was very small and select. Pitt, Lord and Lady Chatham, the Duchess of Gordon, and George Selwyn (who lived for society, and continued in it till he looked really like the wax-work figure of a corpse) were amongst the guests. We dined early, that some of our party might be ready to attend the opera. The dinner was sumptuous, the views from the villa quite enchanting, and the Thames in all its glory; but the Duke looked on with indifference. 'What is there,' he said, 'to make so much of in the Thames? I am quite tired of it—there it goes—flow, flow, flow, always the same.'"[8]

The Duke by this time was not only tired of the river—he was tired of himself.

The number of distinguished names connected with the Court in the last half of the eighteenth century, and subsequently, prevent anything like a proper notice of them within the limits prescribed to this work. A few residents at Richmond have, however, claims to attention that cannot be altogether set aside. At the head of these must be placed the Speaker of the House of Commons, who became the King's minister, when "the pilot that weathered the storm" found himself obliged to leave the helm of State. Mr. Addington received many proofs of George III.'s appreciation of his character; but one of the most gratifying was the post of Deputy-Ranger of Richmond Park, with the residence there known as "The White Lodge."

[8] "Life of Wilberforce," vol. iii., pp. 416, 417.

The latter had long been unoccupied, and required much alteration, which the King insisted on having done at his own expense, and under his own superintendance. The lodge was at this time without private grounds; and the King on one of his visits marked out a space of sixty acres surrounding the house, which he ordered to be enclosed. The paling was already prepared, but Mr. Addington gratefully assured his Majesty that so large a space far exceeded his wants, and requested permission to have only a twelfth part. When all the arrangements for his comforts had been completed, the King, accompanied by the Queen and Princesses, met Mr. and Mrs. Addington, and some of their children, by appointment, at the lodge, when his Majesty pointed out the various improvements that had been effected. The King had made the appointment in the following pleasing note:—

"Kew, June 13th, 1801.

"The appearance of the morning makes the King hope the evening will be dry. He therefore trusts Mr. Addington will bring his family in his 'sociable' to the Lodge in Richmond Park, but hopes, among the number, that the lively and engaging youngest daughter will not be omitted.

"GEORGE R."

It was here that Lord Sidmouth entertained the most distinguished men of their time. One of his earliest visitors was Mr. Pitt, who repeated his visits on several occasions, till he joined with the Grenvilles in forming a new administration. Another was Richard Brinsley Sheridan, whose presence excited some sus-

picions, of which he appears to have been aware. He observed to the minister one evening, after dinner, "My visits to you may possibly be misconstrued by my friends; but I hope you know, Mr. Addington, that I have an unpurchasable mind."[9] The hint was not taken.

Two bulky chairs used to stand in the dining-room; they had been the seats occupied by the Speaker of the House of Commons. Lord Sidmouth originally possessed three, for he had presided during three consecutive Parliaments; but one had unaccountably disappeared. The host at the White Lodge, greatly desiring to add to the number of his guests the illustrious naval commander, whose exploits were the common theme of conversation, wrote to Lord Nelson on the 8th of September, 1805, expressing "the mortification it would be to miss the pleasure of seeing him again whilst he remained on shore, offering to call on him at Merton, where he was staying, if he could not come to Richmond."

He received the following reply:—

"On Tuesday forenoon" (the 10th), "if superior powers do not prevent me, I will be in Richmond Park, and shall be happy to take you by the hand, and to wish you a most perfect restoration to health.

"I am ever, my dear Lord,

"Your most obliged and faithful friend,

"NELSON AND BRONTE."

[9] "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. ii., p. 105.

After dinner he explained with his finger, on the little study table, the manner in which, should he be so fortunate as to meet the combined fleets, he intended to attack them. "Rodney," he said, "broke the line in one point; I will break it in two."

The King constantly sent to the White Lodge tokens of the regard he felt for his minister. On one occasion Mr. Addington found a copy of Sir William Beechey's equestrian portrait of his Majesty.

Lady Chatterton states[10] that this painting was copied from one that included a portrait of the Prince of Wales, the omission of which the King had desired, to mark his displeasure at the Prince's conduct; the original represented his Majesty inspecting the 10th Hussars, (Prince of Wales's regiment)—but as the King's likeness only was necessary, there could have been no necessity for including that of the Prince.

To Mr. Addington's grateful acknowledgment the King replied:—

"King's Lodge, October 8th, 1804.

"The King received, on Thursday, Mr. Addington's account of having found, on returning from Worthing, the picture his Majesty had directed to be prepared for him. The same young artist is now employed in copying whole-length portraits of the King and Queen, to be also placed in the large drawing-room at the White Lodge, Richmond Park; the former in the robe of honour—worn in Parliament, when the King used at the close of the session to be gratified by hearing a most able and summary account of the proceedings of the House of Commons, from the most honest

[10] "Home Scenes and Foreign Recollections," i., 18.

and correct Speaker that house had ever chosen, and whom the King will ever look upon as a most affectionate friend, as well as one truly sound in his religious, moral, and constitutional principles. "GEORGE R."[11]

The King paid visits to another lodge, where his Majesty was equally welcome—this was to Elizabeth, second daughter of Charles Spencer, second Duke of Marlborough, who married Henry, tenth Earl of Pembroke. His Lordship was a Lieutenant-General in the army, and colonel of the 1st regiment of Dragoons. He died in 1794, and his widow survived him till 1831. For Lady Pembroke George III. had a sincere regard, and rarely entered the Park without honouring her residence with his presence.

Mr. Addington was also visited by Lord and Lady Castlereagh, Lord Hawkebury, Lord Grenville, Mr. Vansittart, and other celebrated characters, and at his hospitable table continued to draw around him men of the highest eminence in the senate. Mr. Pitt resumed his friendly intercourse, and the King never interrupted his. His Majesty was rarely absent from the lodge many days. The King occasionally resided at the Royal Lodge in the Park, and intended building a palace there. Mr. Addington was also the King's guest at Kew, where he ate a Royal dinner, which he thus describes:—

"I am just returned from Kew, where I passed an hour and a half with his Majesty, and partook of his dinner, which consisted of mutton chops and pudding. He was in excellent spirits, and quite well."

[11] "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. ii., p. 321.

In later years Lord Sidmouth continued his hospitality, though he missed the kind-hearted sovereign who had done so much to make that hospitality easy to him. When he obtained the Marquis Wellesley as a neighbour, they became very intimate. The Marquis, in a letter dated December 11th, 1821, after referring to an interview with George IV. at Brighton, writes :—

"His Majesty has a fable, that you and I sat hand-to-fist and drank six bottles of claret at Richmond Park the other night; he is much amused by this tale. I assured him, however, that the quantity of wine did not amount to two bottles, and that you told me it was pectoral claret, and would relieve my cold. I expect that you will hear much of this affair of the said pectoral claret." [12]

This joke was an unfailing source of amusement; but Lord Wellesley was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and for some time the friends had no means of sharing claret, pectoral or otherwise. Lord Sidmouth wrote to him from the White Lodge, December 24th, 1822 :—

"An entry in the Terence, which you so kindly gave me, when we parted last December, reminds me of the day of your leaving Richmond Hill for Ireland; this recollection is accompanied with another, which, I have no doubt, frequently recurs to your mind—I mean the dinner-party, consisting of three, at your house, a few days before your departure. It was, I am confident, not less satisfactory to you than to our

[12] Keppel's "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii., p. 379.

poor friend Londonderry, who often mentioned it with great pleasure." [13]

This is a reference to one of his most esteemed guests, whose long and brilliant career had lately ended most unhappily.

The Earl of Liverpool, living at Combe Wood, frequently increased the social circle at the White Lodge. Indeed Richmond, though it had lost Horace Walpole, George Selwyn, the Duke of Queensbury, and many connections of the Court, did not appear to have parted with a particle of its eminently social spirit. The hospitable house in the Park was more decorously gay, as well as more rationally pleasant; and its reunions, if they lacked the conversational pretensions of Strawberry Hill and Holland House, lacked also the spirit of scandal that much too frequently presided at both. A memorable party assembled there in the spring of 1828, which was no doubt one of the most lively of the many that had there been entertained.

Lord Sidmouth invited a party of Scottish friends to meet Sir Walter Scott, who, he was aware, did not judge too severely of what he always denominated "that noble treason of the 45." It included Lord Huntley, Lord Melville, Sir William Grant, &c., &c.

Though, in 1836, Lord Sidmouth, in consequence of an accession of fortune, surrendered a pension of 3,000*l.*, he did not give up the White Lodge, to which he was greatly attached. He remained there till the conclusion of his honourable life.

[13] Keppel's "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii., p. 384.

The Queen and the Prince Consort have honoured Richmond with several visits—more than once to members of the ex-Royal family of France. One memorable occasion was, when Louis Philippe, his Queen, and family, were staying at the Star and Garter Hotel, to which they had removed from Claremont. A clever painting, by Barrett, hung in the lobby of the hotel, illustrates this interview. Many "distressed nationalities" have had their representatives here; and it was the King of the French's second appearance as an exile—for nearly half a century before he had found a safe retreat at Twickenham, from the terrors of the first French Revolution. His son, the Duc d'Aumale, now occupies the mansion—"Orleans House"—he then tenanted. Of his family, the one who excited the deepest sympathy was the widow of his eldest son. Helen Duchess d'Orleans was eminently worthy of the interest she excited—indeed, so noble, so pure a character it would be difficult to find in the list of illustrious women.

We have also to add the Royal family of Oude, whose brilliant costumes, for a season, astonished the promenaders of Cholmondely Walk.

Members of the Court continued to favour this locality from about the middle of the last century. The Selwyns remained in their family mansion, and there still remain, at the head of the old established residents. Sudbrook Park became the residence of the Argyll family. The second Duke married Jane Warburton, one of the maids of honour to Queen Anne—

> "Argyll, the State's whole thunders born to wield,
> And shake alike the senate and the field."

His Grace was subsequently Duke of Greenwich, field-marshal, and master of the Queen's household, in which position he probably gained Jeanie Deans the interview with Queen Caroline, at Richmond, which is so graphically described in the "Heart of Mid Lothian." His English honours ceased at his death, in 1743. The house was for some time inhabited by his eldest daughter, Caroline, first married to Francis Earl of Dalkeith; and, secondly, to the celebrated minister, the Right Hon. Charles Townshend. This lady was created Baroness Greenwich, 28th of August, 1767, and her life was prolonged to 1794. Sudbrook Park has since become a Hydropathic establishment.

Spring Grove, or Rosedale House, near the end of Kew Lane, is endeared to every lover of the Muses as the residence where the author of "The Seasons" wrote some of the finest passages in that fine descriptive poem. The house has since found an owner, who, by the conservative spirit with which he has maintained intact everything connected with its occupation by the poet, has shown that high appreciation of the claims of genius which rarely fails to distinguish great minds. This forms but one of many deep obligations the nation owe to the sympathy, taste, and judgment of members of the Shaftesbury family.

On the hill is a large brick mansion, erected by Collins, the Richmond brewer, from whom it passed to the first Marquis of Stafford, K.G., one of the most

princely noblemen of his day, a munificent patron of Art, and founder of the valuable gallery of paintings, now possessed by his successor, the Duke of Sutherland. During his occupancy, the house was the resort of the most eminent statesmen and distinguished men of the time. The former were his colleagues in the ministry; for Lord Stafford successively filled the important offices of one of the Lords of the Admiralty, of Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Chamberlain, and President of the Council. By marriage he was connected with the noblest families in the kingdom. His second wife, Lady Louisa Egerton, daughter and co-heir of Scrope, first Duke of Bridgewater, was lineally descended from Mary Queen Dowager of France, sister of Henry the Eighth, and her second husband, Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk. The eldest son of the Marquis, by this lady, was the first Duke of Sutherland; his eldest daughter, Louisa, married Sir Archibald Macdonald, Bart., Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; his second daughter, Caroline, Frederick, fifth Earl of Carlisle; and her younger sister, Anne, the Hon. and most Reverend Edward Venables Vernon Harcourt, Archbishop of York. Lord Stafford, after the death of their mother, married Lady Susannah Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Galloway, by whom he had one son, Granville, first Viscount Granville, and three daughters—Georgina Augusta, who married the Earl of St. Germains; Charlotte Sophia, Henry Charles sixth Duke of Beaufort; and Susan, Dudley Earl of Harrowby. The Marquis continued to be the centre of a large and brilliant circle, that added

materially, season after season, to the gaiety of Richmond. He died in the year 1803; since when, though the family relinquished the residence, they retained one in the same county, at West Hill, where the munificent spirit and refined intelligence that has long distinguished this Ducal house, are exhibited with the same splendour that presides over their more imposing establishments —Sutherland House, in London; Trentham, Staffordshire; and Dunrobin Castle, Sutherland.

Shortly after the death of the Marquis of Stafford, his mansion in the Terrace found a new tenant in the Marquis Wellesley, elder brother of the Duke of Wellington, who had returned from his long and brilliant rule in India as Governor-General, and exchanged his Oriental magnificence for a less imposing, though probably far more pleasant, mode of life. He, however, had not completely retired from the pomps and vanities of the world—as his correspondence, dated from Richmond, at this period, published in the family papers of the Duke of Buckingham, as well as other letters quoted in this work, sufficiently prove. He was actively employed with his friend, George Canning, and other persons of political influence, in endeavouring to obtain access to the Cabinet during the regency. Indeed, it was an intrigue to drive Lord Castlereagh out of his post, to make way for the Marquis Wellesley, that caused the duel at Putney, between Canning and Castlereagh. The Marquis failed in his object; but was subsequently employed as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, which office he filled twice. He died Sept. 26, 1842.

The house that had been the residence of noblemen so distinguished for their taste as the Marquis of Stafford and the Marquis Wellesley, passed into the possession of one not inferior to either as a statesman or a connoisseur. The Marquis of Lansdowne again made the well-known mansion near the terrace the most magnificently furnished country-house in the neighbourhood of London; and it once more became the resort of a brilliant circle, that combined every person of political or intellectual distinction to be found in the best society of the metropolis. The Marquis, now in his eightieth year, still retains that refined taste that has rendered Bowood and Richmond such delightful residences to his numerous friends; and we trust that he may long be spared to enjoy the fame of his long and honourable career.

The Gothic house below Lord Lansdowne's was, during her stay in England, tenanted by the Baroness Holstein, better known, perhaps, to the reader as Madame de Staël. Her "De l'Allemagne" was published in London in 1813—the edition printed in Paris three years before having been confiscated by order of Napoleon I. This circumstance added to the popularity she had acquired in English fashionable circles by her novels—"Corinne" and "Delphine." She subsequently produced her "Dix Années d'Exil," which created for her general sympathy. Madame de Staël was a literary *lionne* during her stay at Richmond, and visited and corresponded with the most distinguished persons in the best London society.

She returned to Paris in 1814, and became reconciled to Napoleon during the hundred days, after which she proceeded to Switzerland, where she died, July 14th, 1817.

The well-known mansion at the foot of the hill, with its well-kept lawn shelving to the Thames, is the favourite summer residence of the Duke of Buccleugh; and the family appear to have been partial to Richmond since their unfortunate ancestor, James Duke of Monmouth, son of Charles II., selected from amongst the ladies of the Queen's court Anne, youngest daughter of Francis the second Earl of Buccleugh. The house has, during the latter part of the century, been the rendezvous of a large and fashionable circle of friends; and the fêtes that have been celebrated there on different occasions were always among the most brilliant of the season.

The Park contained other distinguished residents. Hill Lodge was occupied by the Earl of Errol, who married Elizabeth, one of the daughters of the Duke of Clarence; and the Thatched Lodge, sometimes called Burchett's, from the name of a keeper who once lived there, was occupied by Lady Stuart—subsequently by Major-General Sir Edward Bowater, at the period one of the equerries of his Royal Highness the Prince Consort. More recently, the former of these pleasant residences passed into the occupation of Lord John Russell, who for several years has been content, like Sir Robert Walpole, to secure its enjoyments when he can obtain a temporary retirement from official duties.

Hitherto those who found their lives set in such pleasant places were persons who had served the Crown. It was her present Majesty who broke through this rule in favour of one whose services were equally important, though of a totally different nature—one who had devoted the best years of his life to the advancement of science, and, as a natural philosopher, had raised for himself a name in Europe, which not less elevated his country than himself. Her Majesty, to show her appreciation of Professor Owen (Superintendent of the Natural History department of the British Museum) in a manner eminently characteristic, presented him with one of the lodges at Shene as a residence—at the same time securing for another distinguished teacher of science—Professor Faraday—as agreeable a home at Hampton Court. The farm-house was long occupied by Mr. Edward Jesse, surveyor of parks and palaces, author of "Gleanings in Natural History," and several other entertaining works.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence was as partial to Richmond as any member of the Royal family, which he displayed by purchasing of Lord Camelford, who was a post-captain in the Navy, his mansion at Petersham, in the year 1790. Prince Henry received his Ducal title only the preceding year, and had already risen to high honours in the Naval service of his country; but did not become Admiral of the fleet till 1811. Petersham Lodge continued to be the bachelor residence of his Royal Highness for several years; and here he entertained, with the hospi-

tality of a thorough seaman, many of his brother officers, who "spun their yarns" in perfect freedom, and without the slightest anticipation that their Royal messmate would one day become their sovereign. At a later period he lived at Bushey Park, of which he was appointed ranger.

When he became King, he re-appeared in the neighbourhood, with the old zest for its beauties, and the old kindness of heart towards every one who had the slightest claim upon his attention. To his regard for Richmond we owe the Terrace Walk—an improvement universally appreciated, that was completed in his reign.

Several other members of the family of George III. lived here. The Princess Elizabeth, when widow of the Prince of Hesse-Homburg, was ranger of the Park, and subsequently the late Duke of Cambridge, who was extremely popular, in the same office. His Royal Highness divided his affections between Kew, Richmond, and Combe Wood, which he purchased in 1838. The Princess Sophia for some years resided at the White Lodge, universally esteemed for her amiability of disposition. The mansion was left untenanted after her decease till the spring of the year 1858, when it became the educational residence of the Prince of Wales. The appearance of his Royal Highness amongst them excited the hopes of the inhabitants that the glories of Richmond, inseparably connected with Royalty, were about to be revived; but the quiet life of the youthful Prince, and his unostentatious es-

tablishment, afforded no encouragement to such speculations. Nevertheless, whenever he went, walking, riding, or rowing, the Prince was an object of the deepest interest, and every trait of character that transpired was carefully observed, and eagerly commented on.

Though the domestic details of the White Lodge at this period cannot be fully described, we are in a position to state that the progress made by his Royal Highness in his studies has been eminently satisfactory. There does not appear to be any intention entertained of devoting his youth to the acquisition of unnecessary learning—the too common error with Royal pupils of cramming with scholarship has been avoided, and the object evidently kept in view has been to expand the mind, under the influence of studies that are individually an intellectual resource and a graceful accomplishment. No Prince of the blood Royal of England has ever possessed such advantages of moral and mental training as the present Prince of Wales; his lessons have not been confined to the domain of thought—he has been permitted to store up knowledge from observation of the actual world, in which (may the day be far off) he is like to be called upon to play a distinguished part. It is not affection alone that has prompted this judicious course—though in this direction his Royal Highness has been singularly fortunate—it is the result of minds highly cultivated and largely endowed, that have learnt the value of the attainments they desire him to possess. All the teaching, therefore, is directed to the combination of self-reliance with self-

respect—the education is for the heart as well as the mind; it is not to make him merely "the first gentleman in Europe," but the most just, the most honourable, and most Christian Sovereign in all the kingdoms of the earth.

It is satisfactory to know that this really Royal road to learning has been proceeded in at a steady rate of progress. The Prince has a practical way of striving to profit as much as possible from his opportunities. When travelling, his Royal Highness daily supplies his diary and his sketch-book with memoranda of his observations, that serve to impress on his memory all that is worthy of notice; when pursuing his studies, the note-book preserves those points of the lecture that possess the most pressing claims on his remembrance; during the interesting tours he has made abroad and at home, he has collected specimens of fossils, minerals, and rocks, that cannot fail of being regarded as pleasing memorials of his travels, while ready to be referred to as instructive aids to scientific investigation.

In this narrative of Court memorabilia and Court celebrities, the author has endeavoured to produce a continuous panorama, in which they form the foreground, with a less studied treatment of such accessories as the demands of the subject required. He trusts the picture may here be considered complete.

THE END.

R. BORN, PRINTER, GLOUCESTER STREET, REGENT'S PARK.